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ABSTRACT

The findings of a longitudinal survey of the educational experiences of 3043 immigrant secondary school students in Sydney, Australia, are provided in this book. The general aim of the study was to compare the experiences of students of non-English speaking (NES) origin and students born in English speaking countries (ES) in terms of the influences of significant others, students' perceptions, aspirations, and school performance, and equality of educational opportunity. There are seven chapters, the first of which briefly describes the background of the research. Chapter 2 discusses theoretical issues. In Chapter 3, students' family and social experiences are analyzed, and particular attention is paid to the language of communication networks within NES-origin families. The attitudes of students and teachers toward NES-origin children learning their parents' language are also discussed. Chapter 4 focuses on the educational and occupational aspirations of children and their parents. The influences of parents, peers, and teachers on students' aspirations are examined. In Chapter 5, measures of intellectual abilities and the school accreditation levels and performance of students are reported, and classified in terms of such variables as sex, family socioeconomic status, and ethnicity. The development of strategies to test "equality of educational opportunity" is the focus of Chapter 6. Finally, Chapter 7 summarizes and discusses the study findings, and relates them to those reported in earlier reports on Sydney students' and parents' perceptions of schooling. (KH)

The Educational Experience of Sydney High School Students

ED268211

Report No. 3

Phil Meade

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THE EDUCATIONAL EXPERIENCE OF SYDNEY HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS

A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF MIGRANT STUDENTS OF NON-ENGLISH-SPEAKING ORIGIN AND STUDENTS WHOSE PARENTS WERE BORN IN AN ENGLISH-SPEAKING COUNTRY

Report No. 3

Phil Meade

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Preface

This is the third report available in the survey of Sydney high school students. The survey was under the joint responsibility of the late Dr Jean Martin and the author. Jean Martin influenced the study, particularly, via her contributions to the theoretical orientation of the study where she developed her conceptions of an institutional ideology in schools and the 'migration experience'. She also contributed to the notion of 'consistency groups' to test these conceptions. The knowledge, influence, ideas, criticisms and unstinting support that she gave throughout the data collection phases of the project were sadly missed by the author in the preparation of this report.

This report resulted from a longitudinal investigation of the educational experience of 3043 Sydney high school students (1974–78). The Commonwealth funded the project initially through the Department of Immigration, then through the Department of Education; the Academy of the Social Sciences in Australia agreed to act as sponsor as part of its long-standing commitment to migration studies. Subsequently, the Australian National University, the School of Education at the University of New South Wales and the Kelvin Grove Campus of the Brisbane College of Advanced Education provided financial and research staff support.

Numerous interviewers, research workers, computer personnel and typists at the University of New South Wales, the Australian National University and Brisbane College of Advanced Education have assisted in the project and their efforts are very much appreciated.

Sincerely appreciated were the suggestions, constructive criticisms and support that I received from friends and colleagues as I wrote and rewrote the report.

Finally, I wish to thank the students, their parents, teachers and principals in Sydney State secondary schools who co-operated in the field investigation.

Phil Meade

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CHAPTER 1

Introduction

BACKGROUND TO THE RESEARCH

In the early 1970s concern was being expressed about possible inequalities of educational opportunity in Australia. Of particular concern was the disadvantaged position of migrants of non-English-speaking (NES) backgrounds.

The Commonwealth responded to the need for research into the social aspects of child migrant education by funding a research program, initially through the Department of Immigration, then through the Department of Education. The Academy of the Social Sciences in Australia agreed to act as sponsor as part of its long-standing commitment to migration studies. Subsequently, the Australian National University, the Kelvin Grove Campus of the Brisbane College of Advanced Education and the School of Education at the University of New South Wales also provided financial support.

This particular survey (carried out between 1974–78) was the outcome of recommendations on the need for research on child migrant education made by the Commonwealth Immigration Advisory Council (CIAC) in 1972, and our report is the first to include longitudinal data on the progress of migrant high school children. Further details of the background to the research are given in Reports No. 1 and No. 2 (Martin and Meade, 1979*a* and Meade, 1981).

The first report gave an overview of the main findings. The second report received special funding from the National Inquiry into Teacher Education. It focused on the interactions and interrelationships of students, teachers, and parents as these relate to the educational experience. This third report provides a comparison of the educational experiences of migrant students of NES origin and students whose parents were born in an English-speaking (ES) country.

GENERAL AIMS

The general aim of Report No. 3 was to compare the educational experiences of students of NES origin and students who were born in ES countries in terms of: the influences of 'significant others', students' perceptions, aspirations, school performance and equality of educational opportunity. The longitudinal investigation attempted to unravel the complexities of the educational experience and provide insights into adolescent behaviour.

As few, if any, longitudinal studies have been utilised to test 'equality of educational opportunity', a methodology was devised specifically for this inquiry to facilitate this comparison. The strategies developed traced the connections between 'brightness', educational opportunity, aspirations and accreditation. The data analyses focused on aspects of the educational experience which were unlikely to be affected by short-term social changes. We hope that the results will be of assistance to educators, sociologists and migrant researchers by sharpening and deepening understandings of the educational experience and by providing a data base that can operate as a springboard to developing hypotheses for further investigations.

In this study, data on the educational experience of 3043 Sydney high school students were recorded. These students came from 16 schools and represent 11 per cent of all Grade 9 students attending State schools in Sydney in 1974. Information was obtained from those who stayed at school over a three-year period, and as many as possible of the 1715 students who left school before the end of Grade 11 were traced. In 1975, 690 parents of students in the study were interviewed and in 1976 information from 637

teachers was obtained via a questionnaire. Early in 1978 the Higher School Certificate (HSC) data were recorded.

Our interview program with 690 parents turned out to be a fairly complex undertaking. When one or both parents could not take part in the interview because of a lack of knowledge of English, a foreign language interviewer was engaged and the results translated into English. This occurred in 163 instances. Parents were asked about their perceptions of schooling and their hopes and views on their child's further education studies and future employment possibilities. They were also asked about the extent of their involvement with school personnel and whether they wished to have greater involvement in secondary education. Chapter 2 looks at theoretical issues that underpin our investigation. Readers who wish to focus mainly on research findings may prefer to skip directly to Chapter 3. In Chapter 3 the family and social experiences of students are analysed. Particular attention is paid to the language of communication networks within the families of NES origin. Finally, the attitudes of students and teachers towards children of NES origin learning their parents' language were investigated.

Chapter 4 focuses on the educational and occupational aspirations of children and their parents. Specifically, the influences of significant others—parents, peers and teachers—on students' aspirations are examined. In Chapter 5, measures of intellectual abilities and the school accreditation levels and performance of students are reported, classified in terms of such variables as sex, family socio-economic status and ethnicity. The development of strategies to test 'equality of educational opportunity' is the focus of Chapter 6.

In the Summary and discussion (Chapter 7) relevant findings from Chapters 3 and 4 of Report No. 2 ('Students' perceptions of schooling' and 'Parents' perceptions of schooling', Meade, 1981) are included in order to consolidate the major overall findings of the inquiry.

CHAPTER 2

Theoretical orientations and research methodology

THEORETICAL ORIENTATIONS

This study is based on a comparison of the educational experience of students of non-English-speaking (NES) origin and students whose parents were born in English-speaking (ES) countries. It examines whether students of NES origin are in a 'disadvantaged position' in Sydney metropolitan schools. The longitudinal design of the study (carried out between 1974 and 1978) allows us to test the relationships which exist between aspirations, measured ability (i.e. IQ) and educational opportunity, on the one hand, and school performance and accreditation, on the other.

The original theoretical orientations of the study were outlined in Martin and Meade (1979*a* and Meade, 1981). Those sections relevant to this Report are reproduced here.

Theoretical orientations (Martin and Meade, 1979*a*: 3–6)

Our original theoretical approach reflected two influences: the dominant theme of equality in the sociology of education literature in the early seventies and the mounting criticism in Australia of the disadvantaged position of migrants of non-English-speaking background . . .

In the course of the study, however, we came to embed this orientation within two other theoretical traditions. One lies in the broad field of the sociology of knowledge and identifies the education system as, above all, a reality-defining and confirming institution: the 'Institutional Ideology'. The field to which the other belongs is less coherent and obvious: it concerns mobility from one socio-cultural milieu to another, specifically migration as either a stunting or liberating experience: the 'Migration Experience'. Our conception of these two traditions is outlined below.

The institutional ideology

The first sees what goes on in schools as structured in terms of the participants' 'knowledge' (their definitions of reality) of the functions of schooling and the educational practices through which these functions can best be fulfilled. This includes assessment of how well existing practices are working, solutions to problems and explanations of why things go wrong. Although this knowledge is not all-of-a-piece, but marked by contradictions, ambiguities and gaps, certain definitions of reality dominate the education system. We call these the Institutional Ideology. This Ideology derives from and sustains the school's articulation of two systems of accreditation: on the one hand, the accreditation of teachers, educational administrators etc. for employment; and, on the other, the accreditation of children in the post-school educational and occupational structures. The career structure of teachers is predicated on the application of 'universal' definitions of teachers' qualifications, commitment and effectiveness. The structures that allocate young people selectively to tertiary education and jobs are predicated on the application of 'universal' definitions of student competence.

For the purpose of this discussion, we want to focus on particular aspects of the Institutional Ideology (others we shall ignore altogether). The basic one is ability or, in common parlance, brightness. We do not need to rehearse the well-known and devastating criticisms of institutionalised measures of brightness that are treated as objective, culture-free and value-free, but we can summarise our working understanding of the processes by which schools define brightness by saying three things. First, conventional measures of brightness span an extremely limited range of cognitive abilities and exclude cognitive and non-cognitive capacities that are highly valued in diverse contexts in the larger society. Second, teachers operate with concepts of 'normal' performance, that is, norms appropriate to particular categories or streams of students. (Nell Keddie quotes a teacher who described a group of hard-working pupils in stream C by saying 'They're as good as Bs', in Young, 1971: 139.) And third, these concepts make a major contribution to the differentiated school environment and opportunities experienced by different children.

The high school thus fulfils varying functions for children according to how bright it defines them to be. It should give bright children every educational opportunity, encourage them to have confidence in their own ability and motivate them to aspire high and work hard so that

they leave school accredited to enter tertiary institutions and ultimately high status occupations. The Institutional Ideology is not so concerned with less bright children; it gives the high school simply the residual function of trying to ensure that these children reach a minimum level of competence in literacy and numeracy, that they are steered away from unrealistic goals and motivated to enough self-discipline and industry to free the school to concentrate on their more favoured peers.

To the extent that teachers, other school staff and bureaucrats, parents and students share, or at least agree to operate on, this common Ideology, the school careers of students will be highly predictable and consistent. But where this congruence does not exist, the connection between brightness, educational opportunity, aspirations/motivation and accreditation will break down. Lack of congruence may manifest itself in diverse ways. Three major sources of ideas that run counter to the Institutional Ideology are the definitions of reality embodied in sex role differentiation, in class differentiation and in ethnic differentiation. Each of these perspectives provides a base from which to challenge or reject the nexus that the Ideology asserts between performance, opportunity, motivation/aspirations and accreditation. Sex role perspectives accept the bright child career as more appropriate for boys than girls. Class perspectives introduce the idea among those in higher class positions, that accreditation should not depend on brightness. The influence of this view in high schools is attenuated, however, by the fact that families who subscribe to it tend to send their children to independent schools. Among those in lower class positions there is scepticism that the school acknowledges the brightness of the lower class child or seriously tries to transform that brightness into accreditation. Ethnic differentiation produces a number of perspectives that deny the association between performance and aspirations and that also insist on defining the school as, above all, a socialising rather than an accrediting agency—the job of the school is to turn migrant children into Australians (see Martin and Meade, 1979*b*).

The dominance of the Institutional Ideology is undermined not only by the influence of these 'external' perspectives but also by the incongruence between the school's two accrediting functions. The operation of the authority structure, on which teacher accreditation depends, creates such tensions and alienation that the function of accrediting students can be carried out only very imperfectly. . . That is to say, preserving order in the classroom and stability in the school often takes precedence over the job of transforming brightness into aspirations/motivation, performance and accreditation. Some bright students leave school to free themselves from the school's control, while less bright students sometimes stay on, challenge the teachers' authority, and influence classroom practice by refusing to act in terms of teachers' definitions of who they are, what they want, and why (see Moscovici, 1976; Sharp and Green, 1975). Nevertheless, the influence of students in bringing about changes that they wish to see—as distinct from winning sporadic concessions or eliciting *ad hoc* repression on the part of teachers—is weak. Their motivation to try to change the authority structure and classroom practice is also weak because school involves them only temporarily and they look to the jobs and tertiary institutions they will move into once they leave school for the fulfilment of their true identities and interests. To define childhood and adolescence as preparation for the future—as the Instititional Ideology implies—aligns both with the functions of schools in accrediting students and with the enervating and compromising effect of young people's orientation away from the school to what they see as the real world beyond.

Report No. 2 (Meade, 1981), which focused on students', teachers' and parents' perceptions of schooling, provided a series of propositions to describe contrasting perceptions of the educational experience. These contrasting propositions which were developed from a survey of the literature (Meade, 1978) represent the extremes of a continuum and it was postulated that the 'real' school lies somewhere between these two extremes. This Report focuses on the proposition set which addressed equality of educational opportunity.

School fosters equality of educational opportunity (Meade, 1981: 15–16)
School promotes the ideal of equality of educational opportunity whereby students are assisted to achieve the best they are capable of. As students experience differing private family resources (material and human) some require more assistance than others from public resources (which includes assistance from school personnel) if they are to achieve the best they are

capable of. Such redemptive activities are undertaken by educators with full awareness that, when taken to an extreme literal interpretation, the ideal of equality of educational opportunity is a false ideal as it is not practically possible for the school to compensate single-handedly for differing private resources among students. Four further objectives follow from the ideal of equality of educational opportunity.

(a) School fosters equal opportunity for students to gain credentials which are viewed as legitimate by society and which, in turn, influence life chances.

(b) A primary role of the school is to educate all children, and this aim takes precedence over the role of the school as a selection agency or gatekeeper placed on the pathway to life chances.

(c) Students, whatever their level of ability or cultural background, have a right to the opportunity to achieve their best in the areas of education for which they are best fitted. Thus each student is provided with an education (both in content and process) which is best suited to his or her needs and which enables the student to best demonstrate the competencies that he or she has achieved.

(d) School provides students with counselling and guidance to assist them to maintain an appropriate balance between the potentially conflicting objectives (a) and (c). For example, if an over-emphasis is placed on the objective outlined in (c) students may achieve excellence in skills which are not valued in the wider society context. However, the final decision regarding what is a desirable balance among the objectives outlined rests in each case with the individual student and his or her parents. Some students may elect to emphasise goals other than 'improved life chances'. What is considered essential, however, is that each student is provided by the school with sufficient information so that he or she is aware of the likely short-term and long-term ramifications of any decision, e.g. whether to leave or remain in secondary schooling. (Objective (d) is clearly made difficult to realise if members of society define legitimate education strictly in the narrowly academic sense.)

School perpetuates and legitimates inequality of educational opportunity

School contributes to inequality of educational opportunity via the following policies and processes:

(a) Narrow academic goals are espoused by the school and these goals are utilised to justify the provision of differentiated experiences for students from differing backgrounds:
  (i) School curricula and the culture of the school (in particular the form of language which is considered to be legitimate) is more in tune with the cultural and ethnic backgrounds of children from middle to upper socio-economic status families of English origin.
  (ii) Homogeneous ability-grouping of students, coupled with associated teacher expectations, defuses the aspirations and self-images of the lowly ranked groups of students.
  (iii) The selection procedures employed quantify and bring into conscious focus in the minds of teachers, students and parents the reality of each student's success or otherwise in coping with the school experience. The quantification procedure provides an indication of each student's 'merit rating' and helps to legitimate the selection procedures employed. The over-emphasis placed on selection and accreditation procedures means that some students are encouraged to 'strive even harder' while others are 'cooled out'. Those rejected are disenchanted, embarrassed and humiliated after acknowledging their failure to 'make the grade' in school—the first major life challenge they have had to face outside the family group.

(b) Insufficient counselling and career advice is provided to enable students to make informed decisions about their own schooling e.g. what school subjects to choose in order to achieve desired occupational aspirations and whether to leave or remain in secondary schooling. Under these circumstances, students who do not receive appropriate counselling and guidance from parents are likely to make decisons regarding their own future education without being aware of the ramifications of such decisions. For example, a student who is disenchanted with school may leave without being aware of the significance of school credentials for job selection and job conditions, including such aspects as satisfaction, security of tenure and long-term prospects.

This inquiry is particularly concerned with the position of migrant children with non-English-speaking backgrounds. The 'migration experience' is the central focus in this perspective.

The migration experience (Martin and Meade, 1979*a*: 6–7)

The [final] theoretical tradition that has informed our work relates to the migration experience. Stunting and liberating theories of migration have often been presented as alternatives. So far as the individual is concerned, stunting theories emphasise those aspects of migrancy that are believed to produce insecurity, loss of a sense of identity and personal disorganisation; liberating theories direct attention to those aspects that release the individual from confining social and cultural bonds, and so free his creative and critical faculties, and to the maturity and insight to be gained by 'experienced participants in more than one culture' (Keddie ed., 1973: 10). At the group level, stunting theories associate migrants with other subordinated minorities and concentrate on the defensive nature of migrant group organisation, group self-hatred and the tendency for migrant groups to become the scapegoats for the failures of the established community; liberating theories, on the other hand, are concerned with the fresh vision brought to bear by migrants as 'strangers' (see Schutz, 1971), their role as innovators and catalysts for social change (see Moscovici, 1976) and even as prodders of slumbering conscience (see Martin, 1972; Richards, 1978).

Stunting theories overlap with theories of cultural deprivation in the sense that the failure of children of lower socio-economic and ethnic background to thrive in school is attributed to the intellectual poverty of their homes and the limitations of their pre-school learning opportunities, as the result of which 'normal development' is inhibited and the child's 'maturational ceiling is lowered' (Keddie ed., 1973: 11). The climate of opinion that led the CIAC to promote the need for research on migrant schooling was dominated by the view of migration as a stunting, or at least a problem-generating, experience.

Liberating theories direct attention to the impact that migrancy can have on members of the dominant host society. Falk, writing on this theme, whereby the migrant, as 'stranger', may show a 'new way' to the receiving country, writes:

> If different languages and customs can communicate to me that there are beliefs and institutionalised relationships different from those that I have taken for granted, I must either intuitively reject them as wrong, or open my mind and heart to doubt the inevitability of my 'universe of meaning'. Resocialisation of the dominant group is demanded by multiculturalism, and this demand may shake the very foundations of primary socialisation.
>
> Falk (1978: 13)

Martin and Meade (1979*b*) have identified at least 13 different aspects of migrancy which may be theoretically salient. Each of these can be subgrouped under the overall stunting and liberating perspectives. Six of these, which may assist the interpretation of results in the present investigation, are listed below.

(a) Non-participation in dominant culture. Migrants are people who lack a shared understanding of the society that receives them.

(b) Adherence to a minority culture. Migrants are people whose attitudes, values and way of life derive from the country they have left and are different from, and possibly incompatible with, those of the receiving society.

(c) Non-participation in established groups. Migrants are people with incomplete, deficient or attenuated relations in the established community. The most common form of this state of deficiency is that their relations with the established population are limited to the economic sphere.

(d) Outsider status. Migrants are people who are regarded and treated as inferior outsiders by the receiving society. They are the objects of prejudice, hostility and discrimination and their cultures are devalued.

(e) Stranger status. The migrant is the outsider who, because he takes nothing for granted, displays fresh and penetrating insights into the established culture.

(f) Isolation. Migrants are people who, by virtue of their mobility, have become isolated from community ties and hence from social support for their values, attitudes and way of life.

Migration as a stunting experience applies under paragraphs (a), (b), (c), (d) and (f) while (e) reflects the notion that migration is a liberating experience.

THE SAMPLE AND THE DATA

The longitudinal investigation was concerned mainly with two samples. The 3043 students in the survey were selected from the body of students who were in Grade 9 in State schools in Sydney in 1974. In 1975 the parents of a subsample of approximately 690 of the students were interviewed. As the selection of the parent interview sample was based on data collected from the student sample, discussion of the student sample and data collected precedes a description of the parent interview sample.

Selection and retention of the student sample[1]

The main elements of the methodology of selection of the student sample are summarised as follows:

(a) The sample was limited to Sydney metropolitan government schools i.e. migrant and Australian origin children attending Catholic and other non-government schools were not included in this study.

(b) From 168 State high schools a stratified cluster sample of 16 schools was selected using school type (boys, girls, co-educational) and NES origin migrant density as stratifying variables. Although the sample was weighted towards high migrant density schools, students from low migrant density schools were purposely included.

(c) The 3043 students in the project represent approximately 11 per cent of all Grade 9 students in Sydney State schools.

As the investigation employed a longitudinal design it was essential that a high student retention rate be achieved over the three years in which data were collected.[2] Of the 3043 students who entered the study in Grade 9, the destinations of 73 of these were unable to be traced in the final analysis. In the main these students had transferred to schools outside our study. The 228 students who left school prior to Grade 10 and the 1416 students who left after Grade 10 were contacted via mail questionnaire and telephone. There were 79 per cent of the former group and 63 per cent of the latter who responded to the questionnaire. In 1978 State-wide Higher School Certificate (HSC) results were obtained for the 973 students (32 per cent of the Grade 9 cohort) who sat for this examination. The composition of the 'in-school' sample in Grades 9, 10 and 11 is shown in Diagram 1. In comparison, a higher proportion of NES origin children remained at school in the Grade 11 year. Within the ethnic subgroups Greek children exhibited a particularly high school retention rate.

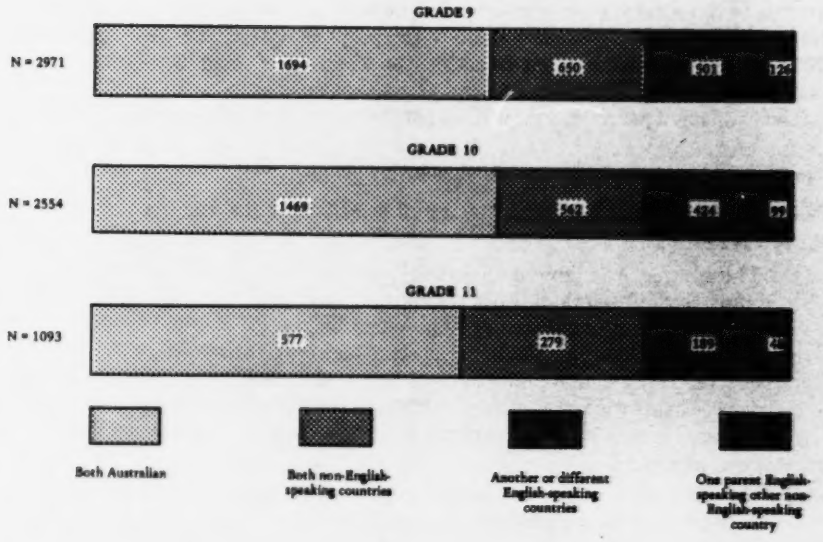
Data collected

The survey instruments are summarised in Table 1.[3] This material can be grouped into five categories: *personal history* (age, sex, parents' birthplace, place of birth and age at arrival in Australia if born overseas); *family background* (family size, occupation, socio-economic status, leisure pursuits and language spoken in the family home); *school experience* (attitudes to teachers, e.g. answers to the question, 'Write a few lines about how you find teachers at your school'; attitudes to school, e.g. answers to the question 'Would you please tell us what you think are the good things about school and

1. Details of the methodology of selection of the student sample are provided in Appendix A.
2. Details of the methods employed to achieve a high retention rate are summarised in Appendix A.
3. The survey questionnaires which were administered are given in Appendix B.

DIAGRAM 1
COMPOSITION OF SAMPLE IN GRADES 9, 10 AND 11

A. All students by parents' country of birth



B. Students with both parents born in non-English-speaking countries

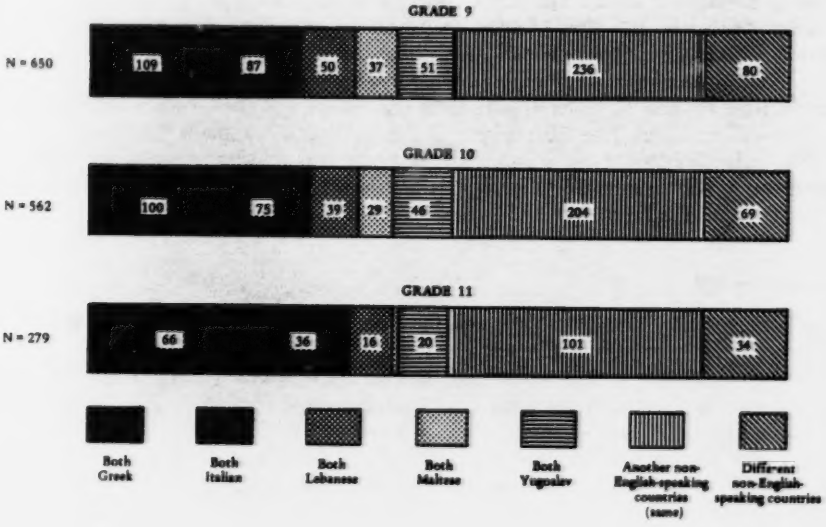


Table 1

INSTRUMENTS RELATING TO THE EDUCATIONAL EXPERIENCE OF STUDENTS

Grade when measured			
Grade 9, 1974	*Grade 10, 1975*	*Grade 11, 1976*	*Grade 12, 1977*
Student questionnaire	Student questionnaire	Student questionnaire	Higher School Certificate (HSC) results
	Leavers' questionnaire	Leavers' questionnaire	
Intellectual abilities and aptitudes:	Group Embedded Figures Test (GEFT, field dependence—independence)	Teachers' questionnaire	
(a) The ACER Higher Test—from M (ML & MQ) (linguistic and quantitative abilities)	Student essays—four topics		
(b) Listening Comprehension	School Certificate (SC) results		
(c) Vocabulary Knowledge			
(d) The Standard Progressive Matrices			
Coopersmith Self-Esteem Inventory (SEI)	Parent interviews with 690 families		

what you think are some problems of school?'; essays on 'How does school affect teenagers?'; peers, e.g. friendships, attitudes to the teaching of ethnic languages); *aspirations/motivation* (hopes for future education and jobs, parents', teachers' and peers' influences on aspirations, degree of interest in subjects taken, hours of home study, hours spent watching TV); *educational accreditation and performance* (accreditation level achieved, measures of intellectual ability and aptitude e.g. ML and MQ tests of quantitative and linguistic ability and comprehension, Standard Progressive Matrices, school performance e.g. SC and HSC results).

From Table 1 and these examples of the data collected it will be apparent that a wide range of material was gathered, using instruments ranging from standardised, highly structured tests such as the Standard Progressive Matrices to open-ended questions, sentence completion and essays. On most of the matters regarded as of central importance, e.g. students' attitudes to teachers, data from several sources were obtained over two or three years. The student questionnaires contained a core body of questions mostly on aspirations, which was collected in each of the three years of the study.

Our particular interest in migrant children led us to include some questions that applied to students of NES origin (e.g. questions on attendance at ethnic schools to learn parents' language, languages spoken in the home) and others designed to tap the attitudes of the whole sample to migrants (e.g. 'Write a few lines in answer to the question: Is it a good idea for children of parents from non-English-speaking countries to learn their parents' language?').

The analysis of the open-ended material which related to school experience was the subject of Report No. 2. The analysis of the open-ended material on 'attitudes towards migrants' is included in the present Report.

Student sample and parents' country of birth

'Parents' country of birth' was utilised to define the concept 'migrant' in the student investigation (Tables 2A and 2B). Over half the students (1694) were born in Australia. There were 650 students who had both parents born in an NES country while 501 students had parents who were born overseas in ES countries.

As the parents' country of origin does not take into account the *child's* country of birth a finer classification was utilised which took account of this additional information together with the age at arrival of overseas-born students to further define the concept 'migrant' (Tables 3A and 3B). Slightly more than half of the students in NES

Table 2A

COMPOSITION OF SAMPLE IN GRADE 9

All students by parents' country of birth

	Boys		*Girls*		*All*	
Sample description	*N*	%	*N*	%	*N*	%
Total sample	1 447	48	1 596	52	3 043(*a*)	100
Parents' country of birth:						
Both Australian	808	48	886	52	1 694	100
Both non-English-speaking countries	276	42	374	58	650	100
Another or different English-speaking countries	260	52	241	48	501	100
One parent English-speaking other non-English-speaking country	59	47	67	53	126	100
Total	1 403	47	1 568	53	2 971	100

(*a*) Throughout the report, discrepancies between figures for totals and totals of sub-samples are due to missing values.

Table 2B

COMPOSITION OF SAMPLE IN GRADE 9

Students with both parents born in non-English-speaking countries

	Boys		*Girls*		*All*	
Parents' country of birth	*N*	%	*N*	%	*N*	%
Both Greek	20	18	89	82	109	100
Both Italian	36	41	51	59	87	100
Both Lebanese	31	62	19	38	50	100
Both Maltese	21	57	16	43	37	100
Both Yugoslav	22	43	29	57	51	100
Another non-English-speaking country (both same)	108	46	128	54	236	100
Different non-English-speaking countries	38	48	42	52	80	100
Total NES	276	42	374	58	650	100

Table 3A

STUDENTS' PLACE OF BIRTH AND AGE AT ARRIVAL IN AUSTRALIA

All students by parents' country of birth

				Students born overseas			
		Students born in Australia		*Arrived before 10 years of age*		*Arrived 10 years of age or over*	
Sample description		*N*	%	*N*	%	*N*	%
Total sample	(N = 3 026)	2 383	79	377	12	266	9
Sex: Male	(N = 1 432)	1 122	78	180	13	130	9
Female	(N = 1 594)	1 261	79	197	12	136	9
Parents' country of birth:							
Both Australian	(N = 1 690)	1 683	99	7	..	..	..
Both non-English-speaking countries	(N = 643)	309	48	164	26	170	26
Another or different English-speaking countries	(N = 498)	233	47	181	36	84	17
One parent English-speaking other non-English-speaking country	(N = 126)	100	79	17	13	9	7

Table 3B

STUDENTS' PLACE OF BIRTH AND AGE AT ARRIVAL IN AUSTRALIA

Students with both parents born in non-English-speaking countries

				Students born overseas			
		Students born in Australia		*Arrived before 10 years of age*		*Arrived 10 years of age or over*	
Parents' country of birth		*N*	%	*N*	%	*N*	%
Both Greek	(N = 109)	74	68	27	25	8	7
Both Italian	(N = 87)	57	66	24	27	6	7
Both Lebanese	(N = 48)	12	25	16	33	20	42
Both Maltese	(N = 36)	27	75	8	22	1	3
Both Yugoslav	(N = 51)	11	22	18	35	22	43
Another non-English speaking country (both same)	(N = 232)	76	33	61	26	95	41
Different non-English speaking countries	(N = 80)	52	65	10	13	18	23
Total NES	(N = 643)	309	48	164	26	170	26

and ES migrant origin groups were themselves born overseas. Over half of the overseas-born NES origin students and one-third of the overseas-born ES origin students were 10 years old or more when they arrived in Australia. There were 126 students with one parent born in an ES country and the other born in an NES country. Most of these latter students (four-fifths) were born in Australia.

Information on the specific countries of birth of the parents of the 650 NES origin students is recorded in Table 2B. Students of Greek and Italian origin were most frequently represented in the NES origin subsample. Girls made up 82 per cent of the Greek sample which represented a marked sex imbalance in comparsion with other groups. Yugoslav, Lebanese and Maltese students were also represented in the NES origin subsample. There were marked variations among the ethnic groups in the proportions of students born overseas (Table 3B). For example, a high proportion of students of Yugoslav and Lebanese origin were born overseas (78 per cent and 76 per cent respectively). In contrast a low proportion of students of Maltese and Greek origin were born overseas (25 per cent and 32 per cent respectively). Forty-three per cent of the Yugoslav students and 42 per cent of the Lebanese students were aged 10 years or more when they arrived in Australia.

Age and family size of students in sample

The average age of students at the conclusion of Grade 9 was 15.3 years. There were no major variations in mean age of groups of students classified by parents' country of birth.[4]

In the sample overall, the average number of children in families was 3.5. Although the average family size where both parents were born in NES countries (3.4) was approximately the same as the sample overall, major variations in family size occurred among the ethnic subgroups ranging from 5.6 and 4.3 for the Lebanese and Maltese respectively to 2.8 and 2.4 for the Greek and Yugoslav families.[5]

Student sample and socio-economic status of family head

An important classifying variable in our study is that of socio-economic status (SES) of the family head of household (Tables 4A and 4B and Diagram 2). We took SES results[6] at face value with the full realisation that it:

> . . . is of course a very crude index of economic class, of life style and of how individuals and families are perceived and treated by others. For a number of reasons (e.g. change of job due to migration, non-recognition of overseas qualifications, discrepancy between job and economic statuses), SES may be quite misleading in the case of migrants of non-English-speaking origin.
>
> Martin and Meade (1979*a*: 13)

Other data from parents and students (e.g. parents' encouragement to attend a university education course) will allow us to deal with the meaning of SES in a more complex way than is possible via the ANU classification scale.

It is apparent from Table 4A and Diagram 2A that NES origin parents were more frequently represented in the lower status categories and less frequently in the higher status categories in comparison with the other three parent groups. Table 4B and Diagram 2B reveal the differences that occur in SES distributions among the ethnic subgroups. Very few Maltese families were represented in the upper status categories (1–6) and 15 per cent of the Greek and 13 per cent of the Italian families were represented in the lowest status categories (14–16).

Cross-tabulations of student sample by parents' country of birth, IQ and SES

Important dependent variables in this study are the measures of school accreditation and performance. As such dependent variables are likely to be influenced by IQ and SES variables, a strategy was developed which gave us a control for IQ and SES influences so we could examine the independent influence of ethnicity on the dependent variables. To achieve this end, the ethnic groups were subdivided into higher and lower SES and higher and lower IQ (as measured by the ACER ML & MQ test).

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4. See Tables 16A and B, Appendix A for details.
5. See Tables 17A and B, Appendix A for details.
6. The method used to attribute an SES rating to each 'head of household' is shown in Appendix D.

Table 4A

SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS OF FAMILY HEAD

All students by parents' country of birth

Sample description	*Total* N	*Total* %	*ANU status category 1 (a)* %	*ANU status categories 2–6* %	*ANU status categories 7–9* %	*ANU status categories 10–13* %	*ANU status categories 14–16* %	*Uncoded* %
Total sample	3 043	100	6	17	36	25	7	8
Sex: Male	1 447	100	5	17	37	26	6	9
Female	1 596	100	7	16	36	25	8	8
Parents' country of birth:								
Both Australian	1 694	100	7	18	37	24	6	8
Both non-English-speaking countries	650	100	3	12	37	31	10	8
Another or different English-speaking countries	501	100	7	19	36	26	6	6
One parent English-speaking other non-English-speaking country	126	100	9	21	37	16	12	6

(*a*) ANU socio-economic status categories are—1: upper professionals; 2–6: graziers, lower professionals, managerial, shop proprietors, farmers; 7–9: clerical workers, armed services, police, craftsmen; 10–13: shop assistants, operators, drivers and transport workers, service workers; 14–16: miners, farmworkers, labourers.

Table 4B

SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS OF FAMILY HEAD

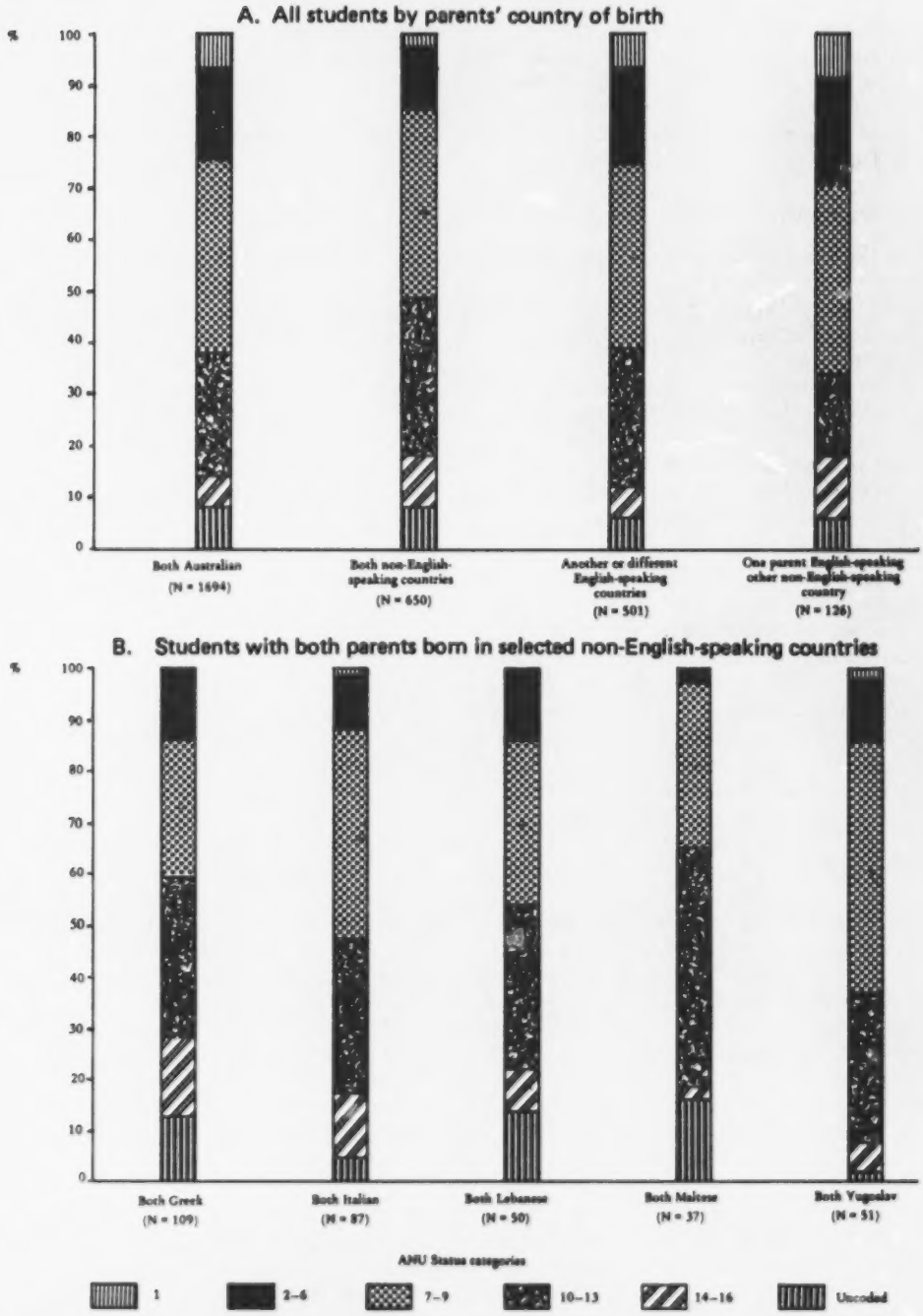
Students with both parents born in non-English-speaking countries

Parents' country of birth	*Total*		*ANU status category 1 (a)*	*ANU status categories 2–6*	*ANU status categories 7–9*	*ANU status categories 10–13*	*ANU status categories 14–16*	*Uncoded*
	N	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Both Greek	109	100	..	14	27	32	15	13
Both Italian	87	100	1	11	40	30	13	5
Both Lebanese	50	100	..	14	32	32	8	14
Both Maltese	37	100	..	3	32	46	3	16
Both Yugoslav	51	100	2	12	49	29	6	2
Another non-English-speaking country (both same)	236	100	5	11	39	30	8	6
Different non-English-speaking countries	80	100	5	14	40	25	11	5
Total NES	650	100	3	12	37	31	10	8

(a) See footnote (a) on Table 4A.

DIAGRAM 2

SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS OF FAMILY HEAD



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When that sample was distributed in terms of these categories of IQ and SES (Tables 5A and 5B and Diagram 3) it was apparent that children with both parents born in NES countries were very heavily concentrated in the lower IQ group (66 per cent compared with 41 per cent of children of Australian-born parents), in the lower SES group (79 per cent compared with 55 per cent) and in the lower IQ and SES group (55 per cent compared with 25 per cent). When the various ethnic groups of children of NES origin were examined it was apparent that children in the Lebanese and Maltese groups, in particular, were concentrated in the lower IQ lower SES classifications (70 per cent and 71 per cent respectively).

The equivalent Grades 10 and 11 distributions to the Grade 9 distribution are shown in Tables 6 and 7.

Some observations of the sample and data

In the planning and execution of this research study decisions were made which restricted the size of the population from which the sample was drawn and a number of variables were taken at face value. Several of these issues were discussed previously and are summarised here so that their joint impact can be taken into account when interpreting the findings.

The sample was restricted to metropolitan State schools. Catholic schools were included in the original study design but were dropped following a review of the budget. It is possible that some of the ethnic subgroups (e.g. Italian, Lebanese, and Maltese) are not representative of the whole population of such groups because of the exclusion of the Catholic sector. (On the other hand, a recent study being undertaken by the writer in Brisbane which included non-government schools in the sample supports the results of the present inquiry for Greek and Italian students—see Meade, 1982 and 1983.)

The results of SES, IQ (ACER, ML & MQ), SC and HSC were taken at face value because they represented, in our view, powerful definitions of reality in our educational and occupational systems. For migrant families, an SES measure which relies on Australian occupations is likely to be an imperfect indication of home environment. However, although the data included information on 'last job held overseas before migration' our judgment was that no valid strategy currently exists to plug overseas occupations (for a variety of countries) into Australian SES classifications. Rather, the meaning of SES in this study was informed by other questionnaire and interview data which attempted to uncover the nature of home environment via alternative but complementary means to the SES measure.

Similarly, IQ and SC results are, we believe, influenced by numerous factors which have nothing to do with the competencies they are supposed to be measuring. However, at the same time students, teachers, parents and employers treat these measures as if they had some straight forward objective validity and predictive value. Analysis strategies have been adopted to statistically control for the influence of these variables but, as discussed below, even these control techniques are influenced by the validity of the original measures. The Standard Progressive Matrices was included as an instrument to give a crude indication of the likely English language bias of the ACER, ML & MQ test and several key analyses were replicated by replacing the ML & MQ measure with the Standard Progressive Matrix score. Our overall conclusion was that none of these measures reach a high level of objective validity and that the reservations outlined need to be kept in mind when interpreting the results. Again, HSC results are definitions that derive from yet another order (mainly the tertiary institutions); they, too, are taken at face value (see Meade, 1978: Chapter 9).

The results which showed the very heavy concentration of NES origin students in the lower IQ lower SES group are no doubt partially influenced by an understating of these measures in some instances. However, when the influence of these measures is statistically controlled so that, for example, comparisons can be made between students with

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Table 5A

COMPOSITION OF SAMPLE IN GRADE 9 BY LINGUISTIC AND QUANTITATIVE IQ AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS

All students by parents' country of birth

		Parents' country of birth									
		Both Australian		*Both non-English-speaking countries*		*Another or different English-speaking countries*		*One parent English-speaking other non-English-speaking countries*		*Total*	
Linguistic and Quantitative IQ (ML + MQ)	*Socio-economic status*	*N*	*%*	*N*	*%*	*N*	*%*	*N*	*%*	*N*	*%*
Higher (107–135)	Higher (ANU status categories 1–8)	448	29	60	10	122	26	34	29	664	24
	Lower (ANU status categories 9–16)	467	30	142	24	148	32	31	26	788	29
Lower (70–106)	Higher	245	16	68	11	65	14	15	13	393	14
	Lower	396	25	328	55	133	28	38	33	895	33
Total higher IQ		915	59	202	34	270	58	65	55	1 452	53
Total lower IQ		641	41	396	66	198	42	53	45	1 288	47
	Total higher SES	693	45	128	21	187	40	49	42	1 057	39
	Total lower SES	863	55	470	79	281	60	69	59	1 683	61
Grand total		1 556	100	598	100	468	100	118	100	2 740	100

Table 5B

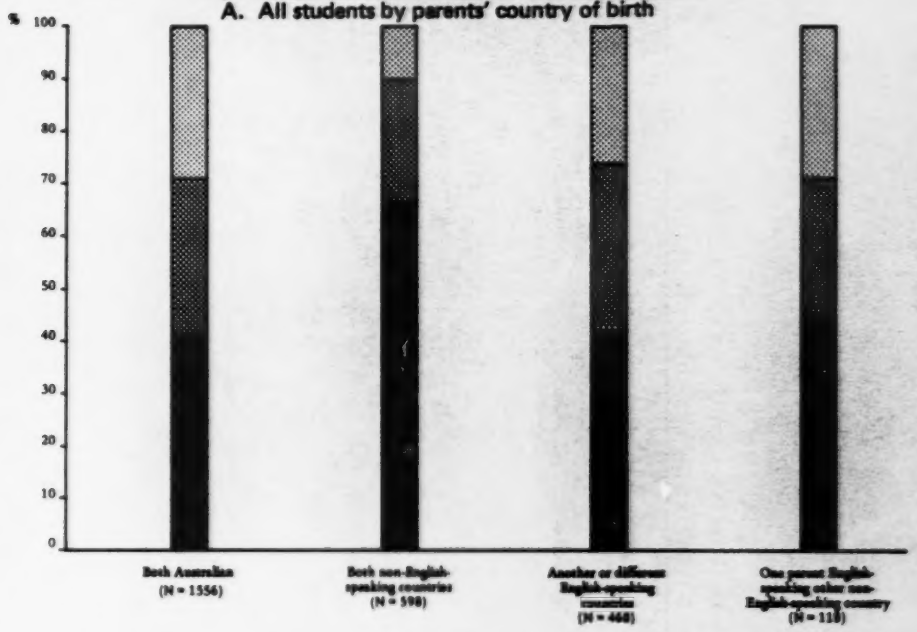
COMPOSITION OF SAMPLE IN GRADE 9 BY LINGUISTIC AND QUANTITATIVE IQ AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS

Students with both parents born in non-English-speaking countries

Parents' country of birth	*Higher IQ (107–135) Higher SES (ANU status categories 1–8)*		*Higher IQ Lower SES (ANU status categories 9–16)*		*Lower IQ (70–106) Higher SES*		*Lower IQ Lower SES*		*Total higher IQ*		*Total lower IQ*		*Total higher SES*		*Total lower SES*		*Grand total*	
	N	*%*	*N*	*%*	*N*	*%*	*N*	*%*	*N*	*%*	*N*	*%*	*N*	*%*	*N*	*%*	*N*	*%*
Both Greek	4	4	29	31	13	14	49	52	33	35	62	65	17	18	78	82	95	100
Both Italian	7	8	21	25	7	8	48	58	28	34	55	66	14	17	69	83	83	100
Both Lebanese	3	7	6	14	4	9	30	70	9	21	34	79	7	16	36	84	43	100
Both Maltese	1	3	7	23	1	3	22	71	8	26	23	74	2	6	29	94	31	100
Both Yugoslav	5	10	12	24	3	6	30	60	17	34	33	66	8	16	42	84	50	100
Another non-English-speaking country (both same)	32	15	45	20	26	12	117	53	77	35	143	65	58	26	162	74	220	100
Different non-English-speaking countries	8	11	22	29	14	18	32	42	30	39	46	61	22	29	54	71	76	100
Total NES	60	10	142	24	68	11	328	55	202	34	396	66	128	21	470	79	598	100

DIAGRAM 3

COMPOSITION OF SAMPLE IN GRADE 9 BY LINGUISTIC AND QUANTITATIVE IQ (ML + MQ) AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS



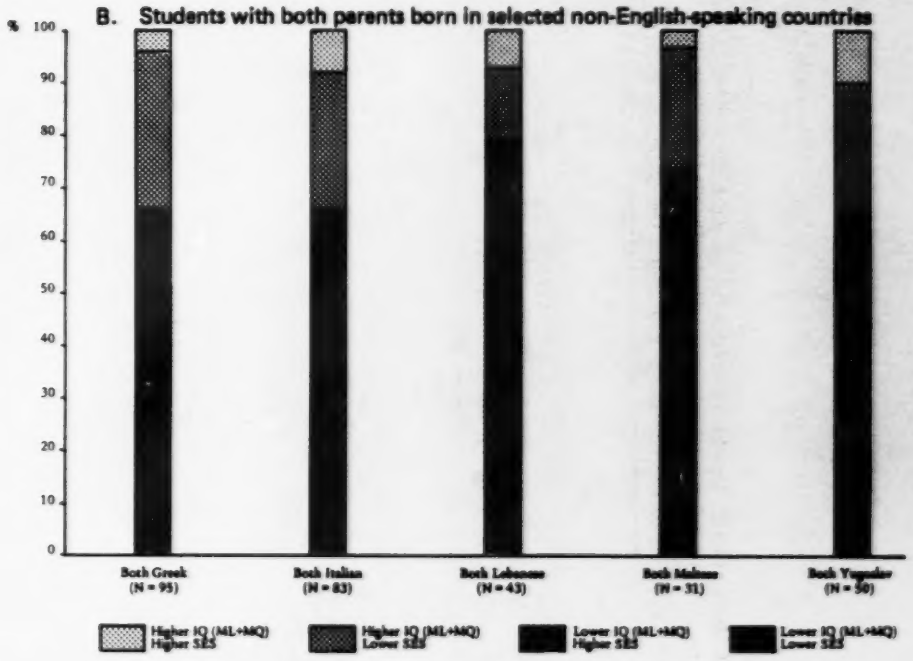


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Table 6

COMPOSITION OF SAMPLE IN GRADE 10 BY LINGUISTIC AND QUANTITATIVE IQ AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS

All students by parents' country of birth

Linguistic and quantitative IQ (ML & MQ)	*Socio-economic status*	*Parents' country of birth*									
		Both Australian		*Both non-English-speaking countries*		*Another or different English-speaking countries*		*One parent English-speaking other non-English-speaking country*		*Total*	
		N	%	*N*	%	*N*	%	*N*	%	*N*	%
Higher (107–135)	Higher (ANU status categories 1–8)	411	30	56	11	106	27	28	29	601	[illegible]
	Lower (ANU status categories 9–16)	429	32	134	26	130	33	28	29	721	[illegible]
Lower (70–106)	Higher	198	15	57	11	55	14	11	12	321	[illegible]
	Lower	317	23	275	53	109	27	28	29	729	[illegible]
Total higher IQ		840	62	190	36	236	59	56	59	1 322	[illegible]
Total lower IQ		515	38	332	64	164	41	39	41	1 050	[illegible]
	Total higher SES	609	45	113	22	161	40	39	41	922	[illegible]
	Total lower SES	746	55	409	78	239	60	56	59	1 450	[illegible]
Grand total		1 355	100	522	100	400	100	95	100	2 372	[illegible]

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Table 7

COMPOSITION OF SAMPLE IN GRADE 11 BY LINGUISTIC AND QUANTITATIVE IQ AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS

All students by parents' country of birth

		Parents' country of birth									
		Both Australian		*Both non-English-speaking countries*		*Another or different English-speaking countries*		*One parent English speaking other non-English speaking countries*		*Total*	
Linguistic and quantitative IQ (ML & MQ)	*Socio-economic status*	*N*	%	*N*	%	*N*	%	*N*	%	*N*	%
Higher (107–135)	Higher (ANU status categories 1–8)	256	47	47	18	71	39	19	40	393	38
	Lower (ANU status categories 9–16)	199	37	90	34	67	37	16	34	372	36
Lower (70–106)	Higher	47	9	34	13	18	10	4	9	103	10
	Lower	43	8	94	35	25	14	8	17	170	16
Total higher IQ		455	83	137	52	138	76	35	74	765	74
Total lower IQ		90	17	128	48	43	24	12	26	273	26
	Total higher SES	303	56	81	31	89	49	23	49	496	48
	Total lower SES	242	44	184	69	92	51	24	51	542	52
Grand total		545	100	265	100	181	100	47	100	1 038	100

Australian-born parents and those with NES origin families, the position is reversed and it is the students with Australian-born parents who are at a 'disadvantage' in the comparison.

Selection and composition of the parent interview sample

A parent interview subsample was selected using four main design factors[7] which are summarised as follows:

(a) Sufficient numbers of parents were selected from each ethnic group to ensure that generalisations could be made.
(b) The interview subsample represented all SES groups.
(c) The interview subsample represented the families of both boys and girls.
(d) The interview subsample included parents whose children had left school prior to the School Certificate (SC).

In the final analysis, 786 parents were selected for interview and 690 (88 per cent) agreed to be interviewed (Tables 8A and 8B). Almost half of the 96 families who refused to be interviewed said that they were not interested e.g. 'There is no point in it as Mary is leaving school'. One-quarter said they were too busy and did not have time. Others could not be interviewed because of family illness or because interviewers were unable to locate them.

Interviewers selected for parents of NES origin were bilingual but were requested to conduct the interview in English if possible. Overall, 54 per cent of NES origin parents were interviewed in English, whereas only 33 per cent of parents who arrived after 1969 were interviewed in English. The proportions interviewed in English ranged from approximately 20 per cent for Greek and Lebanese parents to over 80 per cent for Maltese parents. The majority of the Greek parents had arrived in Australia before 1965 whereas about one-third of the Lebanese parents arrived after 1969.[8]

A summary comparison of the parent interview subsample with the total sample is shown in Tables 8A and 8B. This table highlights the purposive nature of the subsample. Our policy of ensuring that sufficient numbers of families of NES origin ethnic groups were interviewed resulted in 55 per cent of families with both parents born in NES countries being selected for interview. In comparison, the proportions of Australian-born parents and parents born overseas in ES countries selected for interview were much lower (14 per cent and 11 per cent respectively). The figures in Table 8B reflect our policy of increasing the proportion of families interviewed as group size drops. For example, of 51 Yugoslav families 88 per cent or 45 families were interviewed whereas of 109 Greek families 43 per cent or 47 families were interviewed.

Comparisons of the interview subsample with the total sample using the variables SES, IQ and sex of child reveal that distributions for the interview sample on these variables follow very closely the distributions for the total sample.[9]

To sum up, first, the parent interview sample was stratified to ensure that NES origin ethnic subgroups were adequately represented and, second, it was stratified on SES and sex to ensure it was representative of the total sample in relation to these variables.

Teachers' questionnaire

In 1976, a teachers' questionnaire was administered and 637 teachers responded, but the value of the data collected from teachers is limited by the fact that in a few of the 16 schools only a small proportion of teachers answered.

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7. Details of the methodology for the selection of the interview sample are shown in Appendix C.
8. For further details see Table 11, Chapter 3.
9. Details of those comparisons are shown in Appendix C.

Table 8A

COMPARISON OF PARENT INTERVIEW SAMPLE WITH TOTAL SAMPLE

All students by parents' country of birth

Sample description	N in total sample	N in interview sample		N not interviewed		N interviewed		
		N	% of Col. 1	N	% of Col. 2	N	% of Col. 1	% of Col. 2
	Col. 1	Col. 2	Col. 3	Col. 4	Col. 5	Col. 6	Col. 7	Col. 8
Total sample	3 043	786	26	96	12	690	23	88
Sex: Male	1 447	380	26	46	12	334	23	88
Female	1 596	406	25	50	12	356	22	88
Parents' country of birth:								
Both Australian	1 694	290	17	46	16	244	14	84
Both non-English-speaking countries	650	393	60	34	9	359	55	91
Another or different English-speaking country	501	63	13	7	11	56	11	89
One parent English-speaking other non-English-speaking country	126	37	29	6	16	31	25	84

Table 8B

COMPARISON OF PARENT INTERVIEW SAMPLE WITH TOTAL SAMPLE

Students with both parents born in non-English-speaking countries

Parents' country of birth	N in total sample	N in interview sample		N not interviewed		N interviewed		
		N	% of Col. 1	N	% of Col. 2	N	% of Col. 1	% of Col. 2
	Col. 1	Col. 2	Col. 3	Col. 4	Col. 5	Col. 6	Col. 7	Col. 8
Both Greek	109	51	47	4	8	47	43	92
Both Italian	87	58	67	6	10	52	60	90
Both Lebanese	50	41	82	2	5	39	78	95
Both Maltese	37	32	87	5	16	27	73	84
Both Yugoslav	51	47	92	2	4	45	88	96
Another non-English-speaking country (both same)	236	104	44	13	15	91	39	85
Different non-English-speaking countries	80	60	75	2	10	58	73	90
Total NES	650	393	60	34	9	359	55	91

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

When methodological strategies for the study were developed in 1974, importance was placed on the following:

(a) Because a major aim of the study was to investigate the comparative educational experience of Australian and migrant students, sufficient numbers of migrant students had to be included in our sampling net to make this comparison possible.

Even with the stratified cluster sample technique employed, it was necessary to reach a sample size of over 3000 to ensure identification of at least 50 migrant students in each of several common origin ethnic groups. As was expected, wide variations did occur in the number of students in various groups (e.g. there were 1659 students with Australian-born parents compared with 48 students with both parents born in Lebanon) and these wide number variations present problems for statistical analysis. On the other hand, the sample as a whole represents approximately 11 per cent of all Grade 9 students in Sydney. The analyses range from simple frequency distributions to fairly complex cross-break analyses and numbers used for these calculations are shown in order to assist the reader to interpret the results.

(b) In seeking to identify respondents' perceptions of social interactions which occur as one part of the educational experience, data collection strategies were adopted which enabled the respondents to present their views via their own conceptions rather than via conceptions imposed on the situation by us. It was known also that many newly arrived migrant students from NES countries were experiencing English language difficulties. Therefore, much of the data were collected via open-ended questions which were designed for easy comprehension, and the use of structured questions was limited. This use of open-ended responses made the coding operation more difficult, time consuming and costly but was considered essential to achieve an acceptable level of validity. The strategies used for coding are described in Meade (1981).

(c) Interviews with parents were tape-recorded and the complete conversations were typed by audio typists. In planning the methodology for the parent interviews, cognisance was taken of the fact that a sizeable proportion of the parents who were born in NES countries could not speak English. Therefore, as indicated previously, when one or both parents could not take part in the interview because of a lack of knowledge of English, a foreign language interviewer was engaged.

(d) In the majority of open-ended analyses, tables were prepared which indicate the range of viewpoints held by students in the whole sample. Guided by this knowledge of whole sample viewpoints, we developed a series of case studies. Where possible, data gained independently from two separate sources (i.e. students and parents) were used to build the case studies. As Adelman et al. (1976:143) point out, '. . . case study research offers a surrogate experience and invites the reader to underwrite the account, by appealing to his *tacit* knowledge of human situations'. The case studies are, in the main, detailed verbatim reports. They are designed to enable the reader to experience at first hand what the respondents in our survey are saying and thinking. We hope that readers may gain fresh insights from reading these 'insiders' views of the school experience' and that such insights will transcend the restrictions placed on interpretation by the research analyses employed. Fictitious names are used throughout the case studies.

(e) To sum up, although the research utilised a large-scale survey research design, it was considered important not to lose sight of individual participants. The analyses, which incorporate the whole sample, enable comment to be made on the major trends and variations in perceptions, while the case studies ensure that individual viewpoints, perceptions and insights are not lost.

In order to ascertain the relative effects of the three independent variables, ethnicity, IQ and SES on dependent variables such as school accreditation, a technique known as the Weighted Net Percentage Difference (WNPD) was used. This technique was first developed and named by Davis (1964:125) and is succinctly described in a paper by Spady as a:

> . . . technique for partialling out the independent effects of each of a set of categorical independent variables on a dichotomous dependent variable expressed as a percen-

> tage . . . The strength of relationship between a particular ordered independent variable and this type of dependent variable can then be assessed in terms of magnitude and consistency of the differences in the percentage 'high' (or 'low') on the dependent variable between adjacent categories of the independent variable. In general, the larger a percentage difference the more the dependent variable varies according to change in the dependent variable i.e. the more they are related.
>
> Spady (1970:4)

WNPD results provide a useful summary of the comparative 'advantages' and 'disadvantages' (as the case may be) of being a migrant school student in Australia with NES origin parents.

As an illustration of the method, suppose that a researcher is investigating factors which he believes affect 'staying on at school to complete the HSC' (the dependent variable) and that the factors (or independent variables) are IQ, SES, and parents' country of birth divided into four categories—both Australian, both NES, both overseas born in ES countries and ES/NES. The WNPD enables the researcher to find the relative effect on one particular causal factor upon the incidence of 'staying on at school to complete the HSC', while holding constant or controlling for the effects of the other independent variables. How, for example, is 'parents' country of birth both NES' related to 'staying on at school to complete the HSC' (holding constant the effects of IQ and SES of students)? A WNPD result of 20 per cent for this example would indicate the magnitude of the 'advantage' that students with 'parents' country of birth both NES' have over students from all other categories of parents' country of birth combined controlling for the IQ and SES or, to put it another way, with the influence of IQ and SES controlled, a particular NES origin student has a 20 per cent greater chance or probability of completing the HSC than a non-NES origin student.

CHAPTER 3

Family interests and social experience

INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, the family and social experiences of migrant children are compared with those of children with Australian-born parents. These analyses focus on social experiences in the home, the peer group and the school and act as a prelude to the following chapter which investigates students' aspirations. They complement the crude measures of SES based upon occupation alone which were discussed in Chapter 2.

There are numerous studies in the literature which discuss problems of adjustment experienced by migrant children and their families as they attempt to adapt to living and working in a new culture (see, for example, the review by Kovacs and Cropley, 1975). Zubrzycki (1966:69–70) describes problems that can arise within the migrant family and notes: 'Amongst the forces that pull the two generations apart is the increasing difficulty of communication'. However, he also draws attention to the high degree of solidarity in the migrant family and adds, 'It seems that most immigrants view with considerable favour the development of a strongly integrated family life'.

We have indicated earlier that the climate of opinion that led the Commonwealth Immigration Advisory Council to recommend the need for research on child migrant education was dominated by the view that migration was a stunting, problem-generating experience. Taft and Cahill (1978:107) refer to this view and the fact that their own research did not support it, so far as newly arrived children from South America were concerned:

> It might have been expected that the continual stress of having to adjust to a new culture, new situations and new social acquaintances, combined with frustration and failures, would have produced much more unhappiness than was detected.

STUDENTS' AND PARENTS' LEISURE INTERESTS

All students in the survey and those parents interviewed were asked how they spent their leisure or non-working time. A series of activities were listed and respondents were asked to indicate if they engaged in those activities: 'at least once a week', 'about once a month', 'about once every few months' or 'rarely or never'.[1]

Cinemas, concerts and plays

Overall, 10 per cent of students indicated that they go to cinemas at least once per week and 46 per cent said they go once per month. Parents are less frequent attenders: 2 per cent of fathers and 4 per cent of mothers attend at least once per week while 11 per cent of fathers and 13 per cent of mothers attend once per month.

Plays and concerts were less frequently attended. Seventy-eight per cent of students rarely or never attend plays while 48 per cent rarely or never attend concerts. Similar results were recorded by parents.

No marked variations occurred in the findings when they were cross-tabulated by sex and by parents' country of birth.

Media

Most students and parents watch TV at least once per week (97 per cent, students; 90 per cent, fathers; 90 per cent, mothers). These findings were consistent when cross-tabulated by parents' country of birth with the exception that 28 per cent of the

1. Detailed tables showing the results by sex and by country of birth are shown in Tables 26 to 32, Appendix E.

Lebanese fathers and 13 per cent of the Lebanese mothers said that they rarely or never watched TV.

Eighty-six per cent of students read newspapers at least once per week and 71 per cent read magazines at least once per week. Variations occurred in the parents' responses depending on their country of origin. For example, 94 per cent of Australian-born fathers and 90 per cent of Australian-born mothers read newspapers at least once per week. In contrast, the corresponding figures for Maltese parents were 58 per cent for fathers and 67 per cent for mothers; for Lebanese parents the figures were 67 per cent (fathers) and 26 per cent (mothers) and for Yugoslav parents they were 84 per cent (fathers) and 62 per cent (mothers). These latter sets of findings most probably result from English language difficulties experienced by many NES origin migrant parents, particularly mothers.

Overall, 41 per cent of students read books at least once per week. A higher proportion of girls (47 per cent) than boys (33 per cent) were in this category. Similarly, more mothers (42 per cent) than fathers (32 per cent) read books at least once per week. Students whose parents were born in NES countries read books more frequently than students in the remaining categories (Diagram 4). However, NES origin fathers and mothers read books less frequently than parents in the remaining categories. For example, less than one-fifth of Lebanese, Maltese and Yugoslav mothers and fathers read books at least once per week and most of the parents in these categories who do not read books at least once per week said they 'rarely or never' read them.

Church-going

Sixteen per cent of students go to church at least 'once per week', 7 per cent attend 'about once per month' and an additional 8 per cent attend 'once every few months', i.e. 69 per cent of students rarely or never attend church. Sixty per cent of fathers and 53 per cent of mothers also said that they rarely or never attend. NES origin parents and students attend church more frequently in comparison with those in the other categories (Diagram 5). In particular, almost 80 per cent of Maltese and Yugoslav mothers and fathers attend church at least once every few months. Greek mothers also have a high attendance rate.

Time spent with relatives

Overall, 25 per cent of students spend time with relatives outside the immediate family 'at least once per week'. This proportion is higher for the group of NES background students in comparison with those in the remaining categories (Diagram 6). Forty-two per cent of fathers and 49 per cent of mothers said that they spend time with relatives at least once per week. A comparatively high proportion of Australian-born mothers (55 per cent) spend time with relatives at least once per week whereas only 35 per cent of fathers gave this response. Approximately half of NES origin mothers and fathers spend time with relatives at least once per week. In particular, approximately 85 per cent of Lebanese parents and 70 per cent of Greek parents gave this response. One of the lowest responses was recorded from the group of ES origin migrant families—19 per cent of students, 17 per cent of fathers and 31 per cent of mothers spend time with relatives at least once per week. These results indicate that it is the ES origin migrant who is most likely to become isolated from relatives while, in contrast, the NES origin migrant has a lot of contact with relatives outside the immediate family.

Time spent with friends or neighbours

Over 80 per cent of students spend time at least once per week with friends or neighbours. The response for the NES origin migrant students (71 per cent) was lower than for students with Australian-born parents (83 per cent), those with overseas-born ES origin parents (82 per cent) and those with an ES/NES family background (86 per

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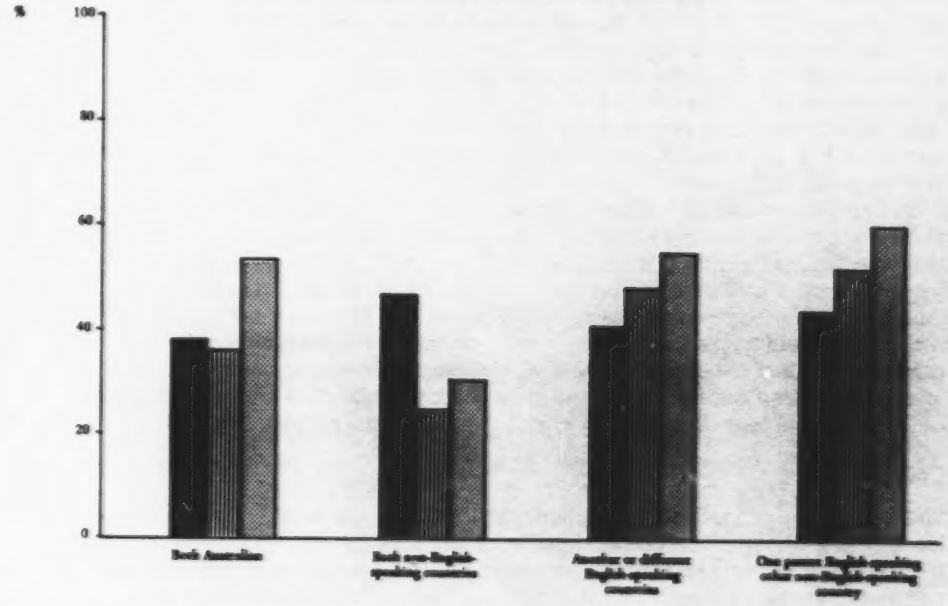
DIAGRAM 4

PERCENTAGE WHO READ BOOKS AT LEAST ONCE PER WEEK

A. All students by parents' country of birth



B. Students with both parents born in selected non-English-speaking countries

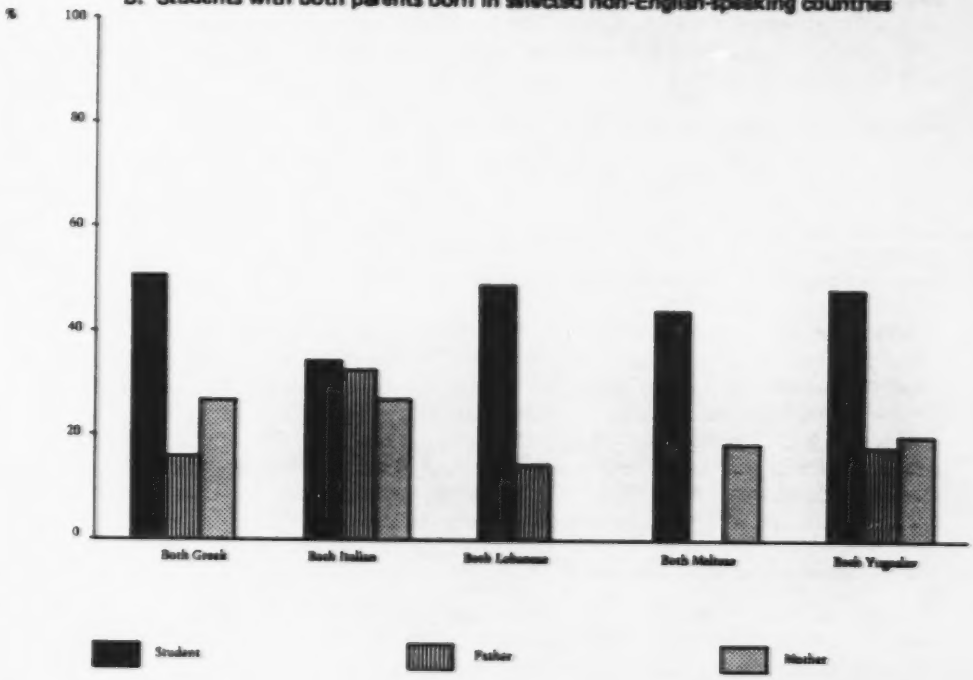


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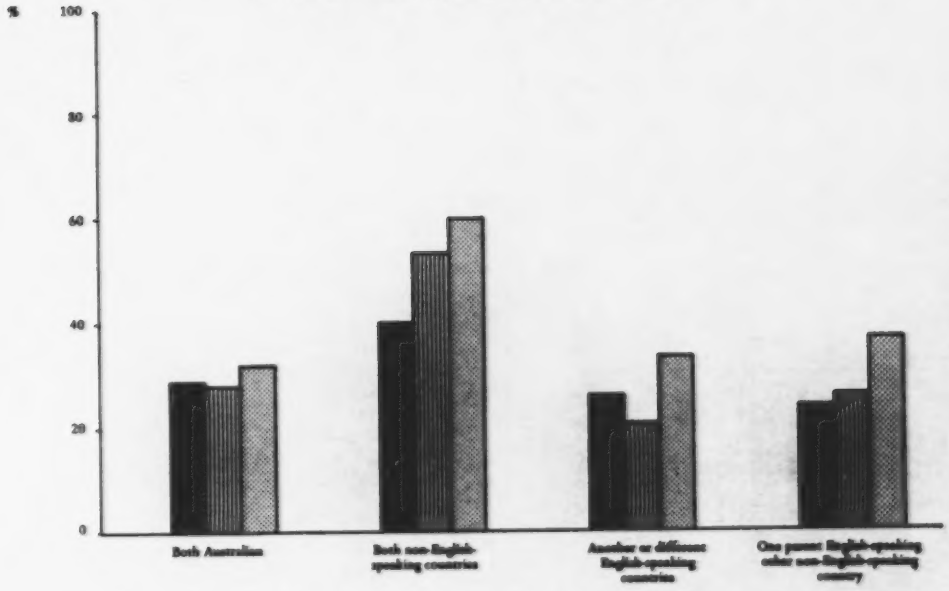
DIAGRAM 5

PERCENTAGE WHO GO TO CHURCH AT LEAST ONCE EVERY FEW MONTHS

A. All students by parents' country of birth



B. Students with both parents born in selected non-English-speaking countries

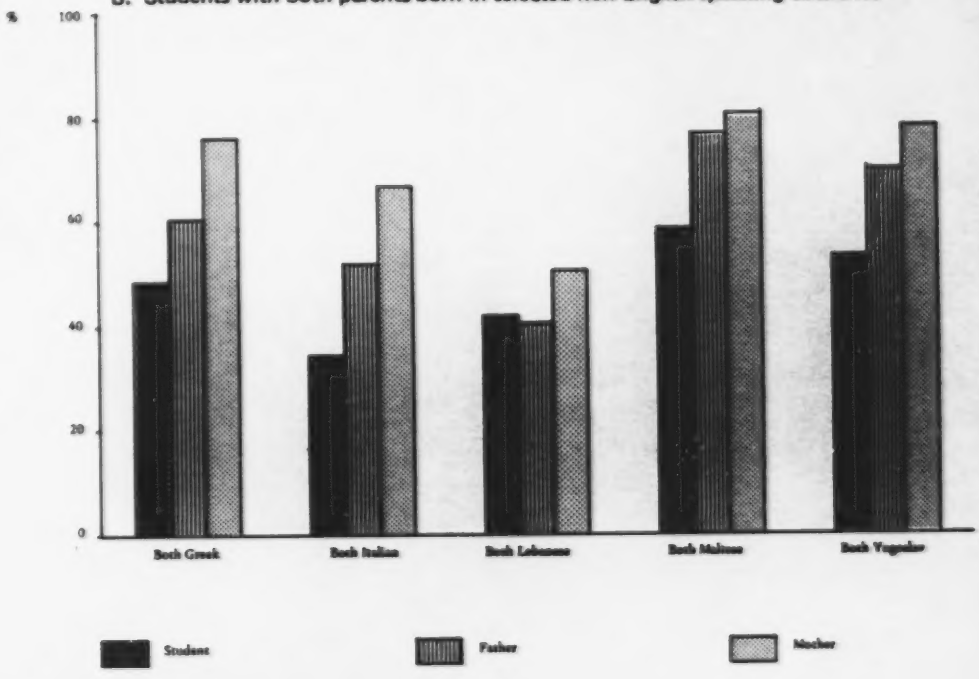


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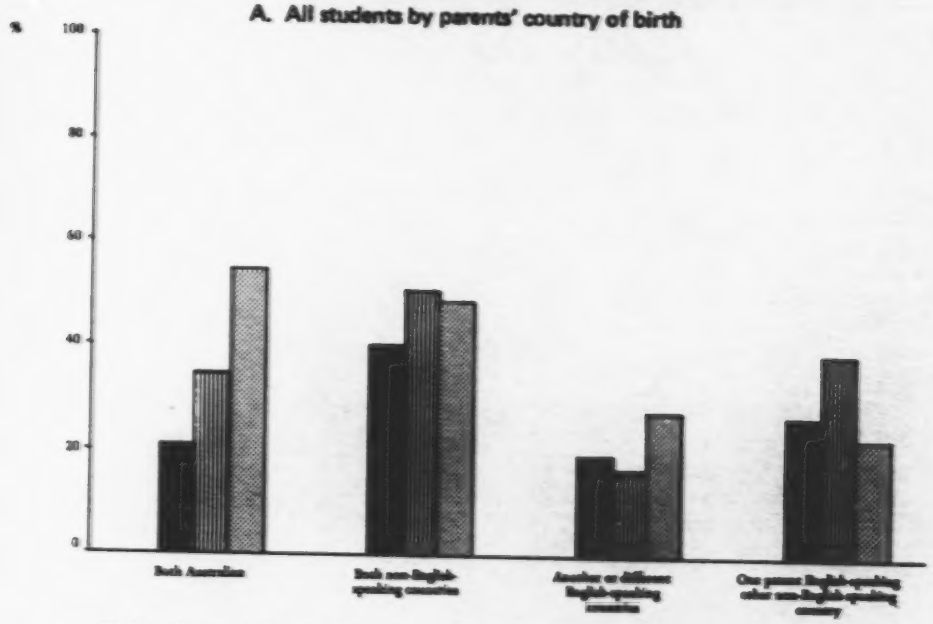
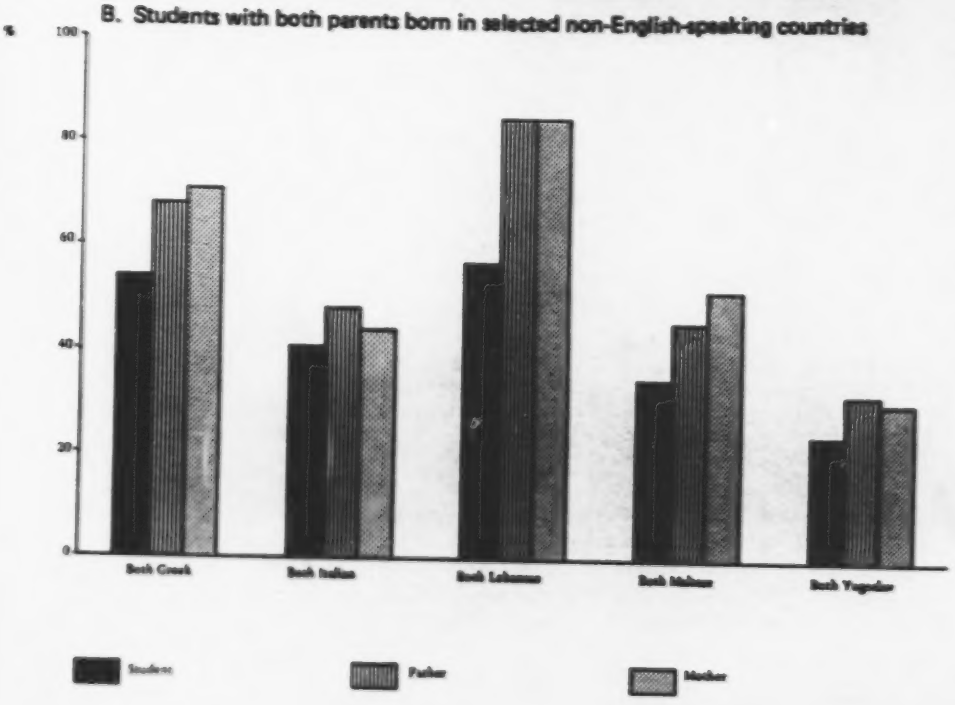
DIAGRAM 6

PERCENTAGE WHO SPEND TIME WITH RELATIVES OUTSIDE IMMEDIATE FAMILY AT LEAST ONCE PER WEEK

A. All students by parents' country of birth



B. Students with both parents born in selected non-English-speaking countries



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cent) (Diagram 7). Over 50 per cent of mothers and fathers spend time with friends or neighbours at least once per week and no major variations occurred when the results were classified by parents' country of birth with the one exception portrayed by the Lebanese parents i.e. 82 per cent of Lebanese parents gave this response.

The friendship patterns of students were investigated further by undertaking a sociometric analysis within each school. Students were asked to respond to the question: 'So that we can see if friends have similar plans for the future would you tell us the names of your two closest friends in Grade 9?' Both chooser and chosen were cross-tabulated by IQ (Table 9) and by IQ and parents' country of birth (Table 10).

Overall, 75 per cent of students chose friends within the same IQ range, reflecting a major IQ effect in the choice of friends. No doubt the grouping of students into 'Modified', 'Ordinary' and 'Advanced' strands in the SC influenced this result.

However, as well as an IQ effect it is apparent that a 'parents' country of birth' effect is also present e.g. in School 5 where 43 per cent of the girls overall have both parents born in an NES country it is noted that of the 106 choices associated with these NES origin girls with lower IQ, 67 per cent were received by girls within that IQ and ethnic subgroup. This tendency to 'overchoose' one's own ethnic group has been observed elsewhere.[2]

THE COMMUNICATION NETWORKS WITHIN FAMILIES OF NES ORIGIN

In Chapter 2, the 'migration experience' was discussed. This is the second theoretical tradition that has informed our work. The language of family communication networks is an important intervening variable which influences the ability of migrants to participate in the dominant culture. The inability of some migrants to communicate in English is likely to contribute to 'outsider status'. Of course, some migrants choose not to learn English for fear of its likely erosive influence on the maintenance of their own minority culture. Two recent Commonwealth committees highlight the importance of being able to communicate in English:

> . . . those who do not learn adequate English continue to be at a disadvantage and, after, suffer considerably in employment, through isolation from social contact, and in other ways.
>
> Galbally Report, *Report of the Review of Post Arrival Programs and Services for Migrants* (1978:5)

> It should be emphasised that the key to a number of options in Australian society is competence in English. Lack of competence reduces life options and diminishes the extent to which people can share in the cultures of other groups.
>
> Committee on Multicultural Education (1979:7–8)

The fact that language differences can cause problems in family relationships has also been well documented.

> School-age children have quickly gained some proficiency in spoken English. Although most fathers have learnt some English, they do not speak as well as their children. Most mothers have learnt none or very little. Children now correct their parents' English and act as interpreters for them. Their greater competence in the language and the fact they are the ones with personal experience of the education system puts them in a superior position, particularly in relation to the mother.
>
> Martin (1975:193)

> Language in itself can cause a division between parent and child, particularly when children must take a responsible role in decision making because of their knowledge in English.
>
> Fitzgerald (1976:59)

Kennedy (1973) points out that the decision-making role can be a great responsibility for a child who has only been speaking English for a short time. Children who act as translators may feel anxiety and parents, in turn, may feel humiliation when forced to reveal personal problems through a child as interpreter.

2. Penny, 1971.

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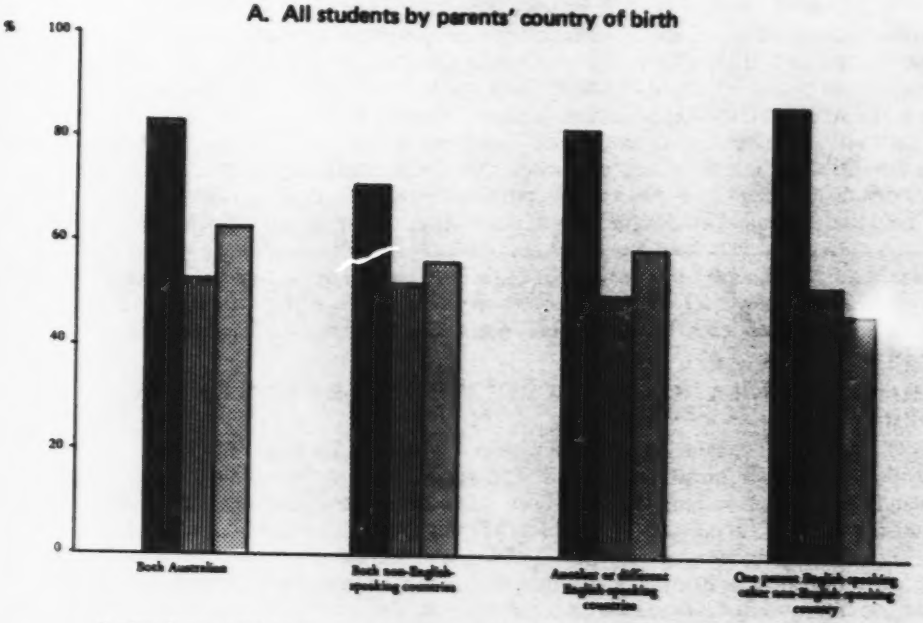
DIAGRAM 7

PERCENTAGE WHO SPEND TIME WITH FRIENDS OR NEIGHBOURS AT LEAST ONCE PER WEEK

A. All students by parents' country of birth



B. Students with both parents born in selected non-English-speaking countries

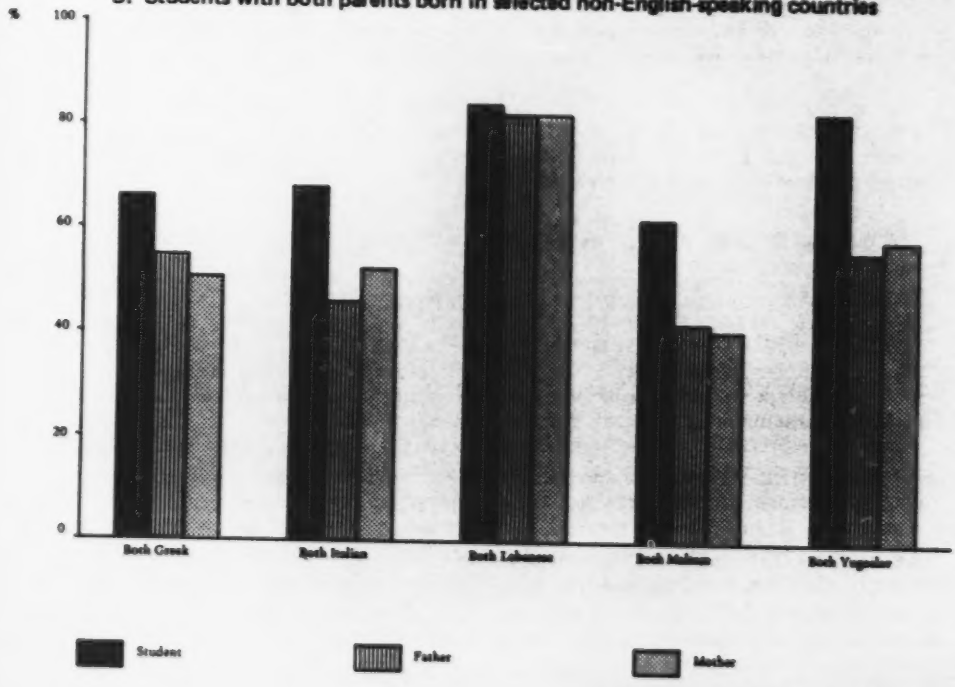


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Table 9
RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN STUDENT'S AND FRIEND'S IQ

	Chosen				
	Low IQ (70–105)		*High IQ (106–135)*		*Total choices*
Chooser	*N*	%	*N*	%	*N*
Low IQ (70–105)	1 666	71	667	29	2 333
High IQ (106–135)	604	22	2 076	78	2 680

	Chosen				
	Friend of same IQ		*Friend of different IQ*		*Total choices*
Chooser	*N*	%	*N*	%	*N*
	3 742	75	1 271	25	5 013

The results of several research studies[3] which have investigated the general pattern of family communication of NES migrants reveal that:

(a) parents tend to communicate with each other in their native tongue;
(b) siblings tend to communicate with each other in English; and
(c) siblings and parents tend to communicate in a mixture of the two languages.

These authors point out that there is considerable variation in language usage according to ethnic background of family and length of time in Australia. However, there is evidence of resistance to assimilation in many ethnic groups, despite the educational advantages of English in the home environment. For example, Taft and Cahill (1978) noted the change in attitude towards the learning of English by newly arrived Spanish-speaking South Americans. Initially the press for English was high but declined when the parents decided that the family possessed enough English to survive. They then insisted on Spanish being spoken in the home in an effort to maintain a little of their own language and culture. English was considered the responsibility of the school.

Smolicz notes a generational decline of ethnic languages among ethnic groups in Australia. Based on a study of ethnic linguistic usages among young Australians of Polish, Italian, Dutch, Greek and Latvian ancestry, his findings show that:

> . . . their active ethnic linguistic experience is limited to conversation with their ethnic *elders* (parents, relatives, parents' ethnic friends), while they almost invariably use English in talking to their ethnic peers, be they siblings, cousins or friends.
>
> Smolicz (1975:28)

Language used in the family context by NES origin migrants is likely to depend on parents' year of arrival in Australia. Approximately one-half of the NES origin fathers and mothers in the present study arrived before 1960 (Tables 11A and 11B).[4] More

3. Connell et al., 1975; Hewitt, 1977, 1978; Harris and Smolicz, 1976; Taft and Cahill, 1978; Smolicz and Secombe, 1981.
4. These data were obtained only for parents in the interview sample.

Table 10

STUDENT CHOICE OF FRIENDS BY PARENTS' COUNTRY OF BIRTH AND IQ

			Chosen			
			Australian or ES		*NES*	
Chooser	*Linguistic and quantitative IQ (ML & MQ) of chooser*	*Total N of choices*	*% lower IQ*	*% higher IQ*	*% lower IQ*	*% higher IQ*
Boys School 1	(33% NES migrant) (*a*)					
Australian or ES (*b*)	lower IQ	91 (*c*)	46	31	15	3
NES (*d*)	lower IQ	98	17	3	68	11
Australian or ES	higher IQ	156	19	73	3	5
NES	higher IQ	38	11	47	13	29
Boys School 2	(25% NES migrant)					
Australian or ES	lower IQ	74	57	19	20	1
NES	lower IQ	57	12	11	60	14
Australian or ES	higher IQ	74	20	62	5	11
NES	higher IQ	24	4	21	25	46
Girls School 5	(43% NES migrant)					
Australian or ES	lower IQ	64	48	16	31	3
NES	lower IQ	106	15	4	67	8
Australian or ES	higher IQ	88	11	56	2	28
NES	higher IQ	51	2	27	22	45
Girls School 6	(40% NES migrant)					
Australian or ES	lower IQ	75	65	11	11	3
NES	lower IQ	109	6	5	77	9
Australian or ES	higher IQ	69	13	54	10	22
NES	higher IQ	55	7	38	15	35
Co-ed School 10	(16% NES migrant)					
Australian or ES	lower IQ	74	57	19	20	1
NES	lower IQ	57	12	11	60	14
Australian or ES	higher IQ	74	20	62	5	14
NES	higher IQ	24	4	21	25	46
Co-ed School 11	(13% NES migrant)					
Australian or ES	lower IQ	159	52	24	15	4
NES	lower IQ	61	36	20	41	..
Australian or ES	higher IQ	143	22	61	5	3
NES	higher IQ	16	50	25	..	25

(*a*) The preliminary school survey used mother's country of birth and this was the basis for this classification of the schools in terms of NES migrant density.

(*b*) Both parents born in English-speaking countries.

(*c*) Some students chose friends with one parent born in an English-speaking country and the other born in a non-English-speaking country. As these are not shown on this table the sum of the percentages may be less than 100%.

(*d*) Both parents born in non-English-speaking countries.

than half of the Greek, Italian and Maltese parents arrived before 1960 while more than half of the Lebanese and Yugoslav parents arrived after 1960, e.g. almost one-third of the Lebanese parents arrived during or after 1970.

The pattern of family communication networks (Table 12) was drawn up from parents' responses to interviewers' questions.[5] The findings mirror those of earlier studies. Most parents mainly use a language other than English when speaking to each other. The proportions in this category where both parents were born in NES countries ranged from 100 per cent for the Lebanese families to 58 per cent for the miscellaneous group made up of parents from different NES countries. Eighty-six per cent of the ES/NES group of parents spoke only English when communicating with each other.

5. Questions in the interview schedule shown in Appendix B apply.

Table 11A

PARENTS' YEAR OF ARRIVAL

One or both parents born outside Australia

Sample description	*N*	*Percentage of fathers who arrived:* *Before 1950*	*1950 to 1954*	*1955 to 1959*	*1960 to 1964*	*1965 to 1969*	*1970 or later*	*N*	*Percentage of mothers who arrived:* *Before 1950*	*1950 to 1954*	*1955 to 1959*	*1960 to 1964*	*1965 to 1969*	*1970 or later*
Total born overseas	424	10	21	18	12	24	16	420	7	11	30	12	24	17
Sex of their child: Male	207	10	18	17	11	27	17	203	5	8	29	11	28	19
Female	217	10	24	19	12	21	14	217	8	13	30	12	20	16
Parents' country of birth:														
Both non-English-speaking countries	351	9	23	19	12	22	16	355	6	11	32	11	21	18
Another or different English-speaking countries	43	16	9	12	12	35	16	40	15	3	15	15	35	18
One parent English-speaking other non-English-speaking country	30	13	20	13	13	33	7	25	4	16	16	16	40	8

Table 11B

PARENTS' YEAR OF ARRIVAL

Both parents born in non-English-speaking countries

Parents' country of birth	*Percentage of fathers who arrived:*							*Percentage of mothers who arrived:*						
	N	*Before 1950*	*1950 to 1954*	*1955 to 1959*	*1960 to 1964*	*1965 to 1969*	*1970 or later*	*N*	*Before 1950*	*1950 to 1954*	*1955 to 1959*	*1960 to 1964*	*1965 to 1969*	*1970 or later*
Both Greek	45	7	22	40	18	11	2	47	2	4	64	17	11	2
Both Italian	51	6	35	29	14	12	4	52	2	14	56	14	14	2
Both Lebanese	37	..	16	3	24	27	30	38	..	5	11	24	29	32
Both Maltese	26	23	31	19	8	19	..	26	15	19	31	12	23	..
Both Yugoslav	45	..	4	20	18	31	27	45	4	4	16	13	29	29
Another non-English-speaking country (both same)	89	8	21	7	6	32	27	90	2	12	22	4	30	28
Different non-English-speaking countries	58	19	29	22	3	14	12	57	19	19	30	4	12	16

Table 12

LANGUAGE OF FAMILY COMMUNICATION NETWORKS

Families with one or both parents born in non-English-speaking countries

		Father—Mother %			*Father—Student %*			*Mother—Student %*			*Student—Siblings %*			*Family as group %*		
Parents' country of birth	*N (a)*	*Only English*	*Mainly English (+other)*	*Mainly other (+Eng.)*	*Only English*	*Mainly English (+other)*	*Mainly other (+Eng.)*	*Only English*	*Mainly English*	*Mainly other*	*Only English*	*Mainly English*	*Mainly other*	*Only English*	*Mainly English*	*Mainly other*
Both Greek	47	2	4	93	4	11	84	4	4	91	56	42	2	4	14	81
Both Italian	51	2	6	92	10	24	66	6	22	73	82	14	4	14	31	55
Both Lebanese	39	..	..	100	2	8	90	5	5	90	74	3	23	10	5	85
Both Maltese	25	..	24	76	39	26	35	40	28	32	88	8	4	36	36	28
Both Yugoslav	45	..	9	91	11	16	73	2	27	71	62	8	30	5	23	72
Another non-English-speaking country (both same)	89	7	9	84	20	22	59	17	12	71	71	19	10	24	18	59
Different non-English-speaking countries	56	21	21	58	44	17	38	49	15	36	84	6	10	46	18	36
One parent English-speaking the other non-English-speaking country	21	86	5	10	86	5	10	86	5	9	90	5	5	86	5	10

(a) As number of responses varied between categories, the largest number is shown.

Over four-fifths of the Greek and Lebanese parents spoke mainly in a language other than English when addressing children in the family context. Almost three-quarters of Italian and Yugoslav parents also employed a language other than English in such circumstances. However, most of the children in our survey used 'only English' or 'mainly English' when speaking to siblings.

It can be concluded that a high rate of retention of the ethnic language has occurred in NES origin migrant homes. This finding is particularly significant in view of the fact that half of the parents in our study had migrated to Australia prior to 1960.

As previously indicated, 46 per cent of the interviews undertaken with parents born in NES countries were conducted in a language other than English (Table 13). This is a particularly high proportion in view of the fact that interviewers were asked to conduct the interview in English if at all possible. As expected, the proportion interviewed in an ethnic language varied directly with recency of arrival. Specifically, approximately four-fifths of the Greek and Lebanese interviews were conducted in a language other than English while more than half of the Yugoslav interviews were in this category.

When students were in their Grade 10 year they were asked to indicate if they used a language other than English in a series of activities (Table 14). It is apparent from the students' reports that the majority use a language other than English when speaking to the family which validates the findings based upon the parent interview data. Students tend to use a language other than English less frequently when listening to the radio and reading.

Variations occurred among the ethnic groups in the proportions of children who use a language other than English when writing. For example, approximately two-thirds of the Greek and the Yugoslav origin children write letters in a language other than English whereas less than 10 per cent of the Maltese children were in this category. Although approximately three-quarters of the Yugoslav parents arrived in Australia

Table 13

LANGUAGE OF INTERVIEW BY PARENTS' YEAR OF ARRIVAL

Both parents born in non-English-speaking countries

	Mothers interviewed in English(a)							
	Arrived before 1965		*Arrived 1965 to 1969*		*Arrived 1970 or later*		*Total*	
Parents' country of birth	*N*	*%*	*N*	*%*	*N*	*%*	*N*	*%*
Both Greek	41	24	5	..	1	..	47	22
Both Italian	44	59	7	14	1	..	52	52
Both Lebanese	15	27	11	18	12	17	38	21
Both Maltese	20	80	6	83	..	..	26	81
Both Yugoslav	17	71	13	31	15	33	45	46
Another non-English-speaking country (both same)	37	81	27	78	26	38	90	69
Different non-English-speaking countries	41	85	7	86	9	44	57	79
Total	215	62	76	51	64(b)	33	355	54

(a) As the interview was conducted in English only if both parents were proficient in English, and as the women had sometimes arrived after their husbands, the language of the interview may not be a true reflection of the father's proficiency.

(b) One ES/NES mother who arrived after 1970 was also interviewed in a foreign language.

Table 14

ACTIVITIES IN WHICH STUDENTS USE A LANGUAGE OTHER THAN ENGLISH

Students with one or both parents born in a non-English-speaking country(a) (a)

Parents' country of birth	N of responses(b)	Percentage who use a language other than English when: Speaking to the family			Speaking to friends informally			Speaking at social gatherings			Listening to radio			Writing letters			Reading magazines and newspapers			Reading books		
		Often	Sometimes	Never	Often	Sometimes	Never	Often	Sometimes	Never	Often	Sometimes	Never	Often	Sometimes	Never	Often	Sometimes	Never	Often	Sometimes	Never
Both Greek	99	73	27	..	19	46	35	22	53	26	18	31	51	22	46	32	8	42	50	7	34	59
Both Italian	73	60	32	8	6	28	66	3	36	61	7	23	70	10	35	55	8	42	50	4	27	69
Both Lebanese	38	66	29	5	22	46	32	14	44	42	17	22	61	14	17	69	9	19	72	5	14	81
Both Maltese	27	22	48	30	..	..	85	..		85	..	20	80			92	..	..	96	..	..	93
Both Yugoslav	44	64	32	4	7	34	59	10	34	56	7	34	59	14	50	36	7	36	57	6	30	64
Another non-English-speaking country (both same)	190	66	28	6	17	41	42	16	36	49	9	25	67	30	28	42	19	40	42	17	34	49
Different non-English-speaking countries	60	48	32	20	12	27	61	12	35	53	8	15	77	15	23	62	9	41	51	10	30	60
One parent English-speaking other non-English-speaking country	71	13	25	62	7	13	80	3	10	87	1	7	92	5	9	86	6	7	87	5	11	84

(a) This table also includes those with only one parent born in a non-English-speaking country.
(b) As a number of responses varied between categories, the largest number is shown.

Table 15

ATTENDANCE AT CLASSES TO LEARN THEIR PARENTS' LANGUAGE

Students whose parents' main language is not English

Parents' country of birth	*N whose parents' main language is not English*	*Percentage who never attended classes in their parents' language*	*Percentage who attended classes for:*		
			Less than 1 yr	*1–3 yrs*	*More than 3 yrs*
Both Greek	97	16	7	19	60
Both Italian	63	70	13	10	8
Both Lebanese	36	72	..(a)	..	..
Both Maltese	21	95	..	..	..
Both Yugoslav	37	81	14	..	..
Another non-English-speaking country (both same)	176	69	11	9	10
Different non-English-speaking countries	51	75	..	..	10

(a) Where cell frequencies are less than five no percentages are shown.

after 1959 only about one-third of the Greek parents were recent arrivals. Table 15 reveals that in contrast to the remaining ethnic groups a high proportion of Greek children (60 per cent) spent more than three years learning Greek, which helps explain why a higher proportion of Greek children are able to write letters in Greek.

As might be anticipated from the above findings on language patterns, in excess of one-third of students from each of the Greek, Lebanese and Yugoslav groups stated that they 'often' help their parents by translating official forms and letters from English (Table 16). They are also required to translate school notices and school reports. About half of the Italian and four-fifths of the Maltese children never translated official forms, letters etc. for their parents.

STUDENT'S ATTITUDES TOWARDS CHILDREN OF NES ORIGIN LEARNING THEIR PARENTS' LANGUAGE

Our results showing the high retention of ethnic language usage in the NES origin migrant family communication networks raise the issue of whether children of parents from NES countries should be given the opportunity to learn their parents' language.

Smolicz and Harris (1977) reported that more than two-thirds of a sample of students from four ethnic groups they surveyed indicated their willingness to study their mother tongue, had it been offered at school. In a survey of the attitudes of secondary and tertiary students of non-migrant origin to ethnic Australians, Harris and Smolicz (1976) found that approximately half of the sample approved children of migrant origin learning their parents' language in the family circle, but almost half of these did not support the preservation of ethnic language at the more formal group level such as school.

Analyses in the present inquiry were based mainly on students' responses to an open-ended question which formed part of the Grade 10 questionnaire: 'Is it a good idea for children of parents from non-English-speaking countries to learn their parents' language?'

Overall, the majority of students' responses indicated a general acceptance of the proposition (Table 17). Over 90 per cent of all the comments made by children of NES origin supported children's learning of their ethnic language. Sixty-three per cent of comments made by students with Australian-born parents, 70 per cent of those made by the ES migrant group and 77 per cent of those made by the ES/NES group were also

Table 16

STUDENTS WHO TRANSLATE FOR THEIR PARENTS

Students with one or more parents who speak a language other than English (*a*)

Parents' country of birth	N of responses(*b*)	Percentage who help their parents by translating from English: Official forms			Letters			Newspapers			School notices			School reports		
		Often	Sometimes	Never	Often	Sometimes	Never	Often	Sometimes	Never	Often	Sometimes	Never	Often	Sometimes	Never
Both Greek	99	43	42	14	51	27	22	25	43	31	30	43	26	38	31	30
Both Italian	75	19	31	50	16	31	53	11	35	55	17	35	48	17	25	57
Both Lebanese	39	40	37	24	50	26	24	32	37	32	46	36	18	46	22	32
Both Maltese	27	..(*c*)	..	78	..	..	82	..	..	78	..	..	82	..	..	82
Both Yugoslav	44	37	30	34	33	26	42	17	38	45	37	26	37	37	16	47
Another non-English-speaking country (both same)	199	21	31	48	23	27	50	12	31	57	22	26	52	24	24	52
Different non-English-speaking countries	65	15	22	63	11	17	72	..	15	79	9	17	74	8	15	77
One parent English-speaking other non-English-speaking country	85	..	..	94	..	..	94	..	..	98	..	..	97	..	..	97

(*a*) This table also includes those with only one parent born in a non-English-speaking country.
(*b*) As number of responses varied between categories, the largest number is shown.
(*c*) Where cell frequencies are less than five, no percentages are shown.

affirmative. Some of the students gave practical reasons, based on the need for migrant children to communicate with parents, relations and friends, and the ways in which the children could assist their parents by translating for them and helping them to learn English. Others mentioned the cultural significance of ethnic languages and the benefits of knowing more than one language. NES origin migrant students, in particular, pointed out that languages can be useful and interesting. While some students, mainly from ES backgrounds, agreed that migrant children should learn their parents' language, they added the proviso that its use should be restricted to home and ethnic gatherings.

Approximately one-third of the replies of the students with Australian-born parents were opposed to migrant children learning their parents' language. Twenty-seven per cent of the comments made by students from an ES migrant background, 22 per cent of those from the ES/NES group and 8 per cent of those from the NES origin group were also opposed to the notion. A number of students felt that the use of ethnic languages divided migrants and Australians. Others suggested that migrants who cannot speak English should not be allowed into Australia and a few expressed the view that Australians feel excluded and threatened when they cannot understand what migrants are discussing. This latter view has also been reported by Buchanan (1976) when she noted that the inability of immigrants to communicate in English is a frequent source of antagonism to English speakers. In the present study there were 43 replies which were strongly antagonistic to migrants and resorted to name calling and abuse.

The responses made by students were classified into four categories as they reflected an 'attitude' to migrant children learning their parents' language. The four categories were: positive, negative, neutral and ambivalent. The results, which are summarized in Table 18, reveal that 56 per cent of the students with Australian-born parents think that it is a good idea for children from NES backgrounds to learn their parents' language. Comparative figures for the remaining groups were: 65 per cent of students from ES migrant backgrounds, 72 per cent of the ES/NES group and 87 per cent of the group of students with parents born in NES countries. Overall, a higher proportion of boys than girls (31 per cent compared with 19 per cent) gave a negative response to the question. Perhaps this result reflects the more favourable attitudes that girls hold towards languages and the humanities (see Meade, 1981).

It is interesting to note that 9 per cent of the NES origin student group made at least one comment exhibiting negative attitudes towards migrant children learning their parents' language (Table 18). This result may indicate that a small proportion of the NES migrant students may be somewhat alienated from their parents' culture. In several of the replies, for example, the students appeared to be resisting their parents' wishes concerning adherence to cultural values which the children consider inappropriate in Australia.

There are several explanations as to why about one-third of students with Australian-born parents responded in the negative to the question regarding the learning of ethnic languages by children of parents from NES countries. Perhaps these students are merely reflecting a hardline assimilationist perspective and hope that all migrants will speak only English.

Another possible explanation is provided by the results of two questions which focused on general attitudes towards migrants. Students were asked to respond to two pairs of attitude statements which are listed in Table 19. The results of students who chose the negative statement of each pair as best expressing their own opinion rather than the positive (Tables 19A and 19B) reveal about four-fifths of the group of students with both Australian-born parents agreed with the negative of the two statements in each case, whereas four-fifths of the group of students with parents of NES origin favoured the positive of the two statements on both occasions. The groups of migrant students from ES backgrounds and those of ES/NES origin tended to be equally divided in their responses to the questions posed.

Table 17

STUDENTS' COMMENTS IN RESPONSE TO THE QUESTION—
"IS IT A GOOD IDEA FOR CHILDREN OF PARENTS FROM NON-ENGLISH-SPEAKING COUNTRIES TO LEARN THEIR PARENTS' LANGUAGE?"

All students by parents' country of birth

							Parents' country of birth							
	Total sample		*Male*		*Female*		*Both Australian*		*Both non-English speaking*		*Another or different English-speaking countries*		*One parent English-speaking, other non-English speaking country*	
Rank order	*NC*	*%*	*NC*	*%*	*NC*	*%*	*NC*	*%*	*NC*	*%*	*NC*	*%*	*NC*	*%*
Affirmative statements														
The ethnic language is a help in communication:														
with parents	471	15	199	15	272	15	264	16	110	15	75	15	11	
useful if they return to their parents' homeland	414	13	155	12	259	14	192	11	129	17	68	14	16	
with relations, ethnic friends	38	1	13	1	25	1	21	1	13	2	4	1	..	
Subtotal	**923**	**(29)**	**367**	**(28)**	**556**	**(31)**	**477**	**(28)**	**252**	**(34)**	**147**	**(29)(a)**	**27**	**(2**
Languages are: useful, interesting	**368**	**12**	**113**	**9**	**255**	**14**	**108**	**6**	**188**	**25**	**46**	**9**	**22**	
Yes [unconditional]	**282**	**9**	**117**	**9**	**165**	**9**	**114**	**7**	**100**	**14**	**44**	**9**	**15**	
Yes [conditional]														
but restrict its use to:														
home, ethnic gatherings	111	4	43	3	68	4	65	4	8	1	32	6	5	
but learn English well, too	75	2	27	2	48	3	42	2	10	1	14	3	7	
Subtotal	**186**	**(6)**	**70**	**(5)**	**116**	**(6)**	**107**	**(6)**	**18**	**(2)**	**46**	**(9)**	**12**	**(**
Yes—if they want to	**169**	**5**	**65**	**5**	**104**	**6**	**98**	**6**	**28**	**4**	**29**	**6**	**12**	

Table 17—continued

All students by parents' country of birth

Rank order	Total sample		Male		Female		Parents' country of birth: Both Australian		Both non-English speaking		Another or different English-speaking countries		One parent English-speaking other non-English-speaking country	
	NC	%	NC	%	NC	%	NC	%	NC	%	NC	%	NC	%
Learning the ethnic language enables students to assist their parents:														
by translating	94	3	28	2	66	4	57	3	23	3	8	2	5	4
by helping them learn English	63	2	24	2	39	2	41	2	9	1	6	1	5	4
Subtotal	**157**	**(5)**	**52**	**(4)**	**105**	**(6)**	**98**	**(6)**	**32**	**(4)**	**14**	**(3)**	**10**	**(8)**
Learning the ethnic language helps them to appreciate their ethnic origins:														
by making them familiar with their cultural backgrounds	92	3	37	3	55	3	40	2	31	4	19	4	1	..
by helping them to appreciate their parents' language	10	..	5	..	5	..	2	..	7	1	1	..	..	..
Subtotal	**102**	**(3)**	**42**	**(3)**	**60**	**(3)**	**42**	**(3)**	**38**	**(5)**	**20**	**(4)**	**1**	..
Migrant children are lucky to have the chance to learn another language from their parents	33	1	11	1	22	1	11	1	17	2	3	..	1	..
Totals of affirmative statements	**2 220**	**(70)**	**837**	**(63)**	**1 383**	**(76)**	**1 055**	**(63)**	**673**	**(91)**	**349**	**(70)**	**100**	**(77)**
Negative statements														
The ethnic language divides the community:														
it separates migrants from Australians	428	14	199	15	229	13	311	18	22	3	72	14	13	10
migrants who can't speak English should be excluded	30	1	10	1	20	1	26	2	1	..	3	1	..	..

Australians feel excluded when migrants use their ethnic languages	19	1	11	1	8	..	17	1	..	..	2	..	..	..
Subtotal	477	(15)	220	(17)	257	(14)	354	(21)	23	(3)	77	(15)	13	(10)
No unconditional	194	6	127	10	67	4	128	8	19	3	34	7	8	6
***Students could suffer if they learn an ethnic language because:*(b)**														
it will take too much time and/or confuse them	49	2	29	2	20	1	32	2	7	1	7	1	3	2
it will disadvantage them with peers	33	1	12	1	21	1	22	1	4	..	5	1	1	1
Subtotal	82	(3)	41	(3)	41	(2)	54	(3)	11	(1)	12	(2)	4	(3)
No [antagonistic]	43	1	22	2	21	1	33	2	1	..	7	1	2	..
Ethnic languages are useless in Australia	27	1	12	1	15	1	19	1	2	..	4	..	1	..
Yes [but meant in a sarcastic way]	15	..	8	1	7	..	12	1	..	..	2	..	..	..
Totals of negative statements	838	(26)	430	(34)	408	(22)	600	(36)	56	(8)	136	(27)	28	(22)
Neutral statements														
Undecided	40	1	31	2	9	1	24	1	5	1	9	2	1	..
Other	34	2	21	2	13	1	21	1	6	1	6	1	1	..
Totals of neutral statements	74	(3)	52	(4)	22	(2)	45	(2)	11	(1)	15	(3)	2	..
Grand total	3 132	100	1 319	100	1 813	100	1 700	100	740	100	500	100	130	100

(*a*) Subtotals may not always equal the sums of individuals percentages, due to rounding off.
(*b*) This category shows some degree of concern for migrants, so has been regarded as neutral in the subsequent attitudinal recording for individuals.

Table 18

ATTITUDES TOWARDS MIGRANTS LEARNING THEIR PARENTS' LANGUAGE

As shown in answers to the question: 'Is it a good idea for children of parents from non-English-speaking countries to learn their parents' language?'

All students by parents' country of birth

	Total respondees		*Positive respondees (a) (b) (c)*		*Negative respondees (d)*		*Neutral respondees (e)*		*Ambivalent respondees (positive & negative)(f)*	
Sample description	*N*	%	*N*	%	*N*	%	*N*	%	*N*	%
Total sample	2 370	100	1 545	65	588	25	124	5	113	5
Sex: Male	1 098	100	648	59	345	31	80	7	25	2
Female	1 272	100	897	70	243	19	44	3	88	7
Parents' country of birth:										
Both Australian	1 338	100	745	56	421	32	79	6	93	7
Both non-English-speaking countries	503	100	438	87	36	7	18	4	11	2
Another or different English-speaking countries	399	100	258	65	98	25	21	5	22	6
One parent English-speaking other non-English-speaking country	98	100	71	72	19	19	5	5	3	3

(*a*) Where the respondee made neutral responses together with positive statements the respondee has been coded as positive (similarly where neutral responses occur with negative ones, the respondee is counted as negative).

(*b*) The following major categories were classified as showing a positive attitude towards migrants and ethnic languages:
- (i) The ethnic language is a help in communication
- (ii) Languages are: useful, interesting
- (iii) Yes—[conditional]
- (iv) Yes, if they want to
- (v) Learning the ethnic language enables students to assist their parents
- (vi) Learning the ethnic language helps them to appreciate their ethnic origins
- (vii) Migrant children are lucky to have the chance to learn another language from their parents
- (viii) Yes—[unconditional]

(*c*) A more detailed frequency count of combinations of positive and negative responses is shown in Table 17.

(*d*) The following categories were classified as showing a negative attitude towards migrants and ethnic languages:
- (i) Ethnic languages divide the community
- (ii) Ethnic languages are useless in Australia
- (iii) No—[antagonistic] (includes name calling etc.)
- (iv) Yes—[but meant in a sarcastic way]
- (v) No—[unconditional]

(*e*) The following categories were classified as being neutral towards migrants, or were not able to be coded as positive or negative:
- (i) Students could suffer if they learn an ethnic language
- (ii) Undecided or not committed
- (iii) Uncoded

(*f*) If the respondee made one or more positive statements as well as one or more negative statements, he was classified as having an 'ambivalent' attitude towards migrants.

Table 19A

STUDENTS' ATTITUDES TO MIGRANTS

All students by parents' country of birth

	First pair of attitude statements (a) *Having a lot of migrants has been a very good thing for this country* (b) *Having a lot of migrants has not been so good for this country*			*Second pair of attitude statements* (a) *Australians had better look out, or they will find that migrants will take over the country* (b) *Migrants have added much of value to the country*		
		Percentage response of which statement chosen			*Percentage response of which statement chosen*	
Parents' country of birth	*N who answered*	*(a)*	*(b)*	*N who answered*	*(a)*	*(b)*
Total sample	2 544	37	63	2 522	57	43
Sex: Male	1 219	34	67	1 198	60	40
Female	1 325	40	60	1 324	55	45
Parents' country of birth:						
Both Australian	1 435	17	83	1 425	75	25
Both non-English-speaking countries	542	79	21	542	18	82
Another or different English-speaking countries	413	46	54	406	51	49
One parent English-speaking other non-English-speaking country	96	52	48	94	42	58

Table 19B

STUDENTS' ATTITUDES TO MIGRANTS

Students with both parents born in non-English-speaking countries

	First pair of attitude statements (a) *Having a lot of migrants has been a very good thing for this country* (b) *Having a lot of migrants has not been so good for this country*			*Second pair of attitude statements* (a) *Australians had better look out, or they will find that migrants will take over the country* (b) *Migrants have added much of value to the country*		
Parents' country of birth	*N who answered*	*Percentage response of which statement chosen* (a)	(b)	*N who answered*	*Percentage response of which statement chosen* (a)	(b)
Both Greek	99	88	12	99	11	89
Both Italian	72	81	19	71	11	89
Both Lebanese	36	81	19	37	11	89
Both Maltese	27	70	30	27	22	78
Both Yugoslav	45	78	22	45	13	87
Another non-English-speaking country (both same)	199	77	23	198	22	78
Different non-English-speaking countries	64	75	25	65	25	75

The disparity in the results between the question on NES children learning their ethnic language and the 'attitudes to migrants' questions for the non-NES origin students deserves some comment. Over 60 per cent of these students support the proposition that it is a good idea for children of parents from NES origin families to learn their parents' language. Half of the non-NES origin students, in the study by Smolicz and Harris (1976), who supported the learning of ethnic language in the family circle, did not support language preservation at the more formal level. If an additional question about teaching ethnic languages at school had been asked in the present inquiry, a similar fall-off in support might have resulted. Perhaps some non-NES origin students treated the language question as an *educational* rather than a *cultural preservation* issue i.e. any education is basically a good thing. However, when faced with the pairs of statements reflecting an attitude to migrants in general, most non-NES students chose the negative partner in the pair. Perhaps Buchanan (1976) is right when she notes that, despite claims that Australian society is becoming more unified and more tolerant, attitudes appear not to have changed much since the 1950s.

It is likely that some students with Australian-born parents were opposed to migrant children learning their parents' language purely on the grounds of racial prejudice. Some of our case studies which follow suggest that there are at least pockets of Australian children with highly aggressive attitudes towards migrants.

Students were invited to use their ethnic language to write their replies to the question on migrant children learning their parents' language and it was very revealing to see the elaborated comments made by some of the NES origin migrant students who had written only one-sentence replies to the open-ended questions they answered in English. We have included several of these responses in the case studies which follow.

Case studies were developed from responses to the questions: 'How have migrants settled into this country?' and 'Is it a good idea for children of parents from non-English-speaking countries to learn their parents' language?'

Christina Girdis

IQ = 128 (high); aspired to HSC in Grade 9 and/or Grade 10; school accreditation—high HSC.

Christina was born in Australia but both her parents were born in Greece. She is an only child. Her father is a building constructor who also has units for rental. Her mother does some factory dressmaking at home. In Grade 11, Christina aspired to attend university, as she had done all through secondary school. She hoped to become a lawyer or a chartered accountant.

Both English and Greek are spoken in the family home, and Christina speaks Greek to her parents and grandparents. She learnt Greek as a first language but began to speak English when she was 2 or 3 years old. She can read and speak Greek as well as she can English, but indicated that she understood and wrote English better than Greek. She went to ethnic language classes for more than 3 years and only recently stopped attending them. She indicated that she found these classes useful but did not find them enjoyable.

When filling out the questionnaire she indicated that she 'often' speaks Greek to the family and reads Greek newspapers or magazines. She 'sometimes' speaks Greek to friends or at social gatherings and 'sometimes' writes letters in Greek. 'Sometimes' she also listens to ethnic radio and Greek records, or goes to a Greek film.

Christina also indicated that she 'never' had to interpret for her parents when they were talking to English-speaking people but that 'sometimes' she translated official forms, letters, newspapers, school notices and school reports. She added that her parents ' . . . don't need help except when letters are written badly and they can't make out the wording or unless a few 'big' words come into articles'.

In replying to the question 'Should migrant children learn their parents' languages?' she wrote:

> Yes, I feel it is very good. It helps you in later life and, in most cases, to communicate with your own family. I feel it is really great when a person can learn more than one language as it will come in handy in travelling and to help communicate with migrants while carrying out your job. Having parents who

come from another country is of great advantage to the child as it will find it easier to learn. Some migrants also move back and it would be a great help if the child knew the country's language. I speak and write Greek fairly well . . . and I feel I have more of an advantage than all my Aussie friends put together!!

However, Christina seems to have experienced racial prejudice by children of Australian origin for, when asked 'What would make school a better place to attend?', she replied:

For me—not so much prejudice against New Australians or kids born from migrant parents.

In reply to the question 'How have migrants settled into this country?' she said:

I feel they have helped the industry but they have been crushed and degraded by the 'fair dinkum Aussies' and I feel sorry for them. Maybe that's why they can't seem to really assimilate and break into this culture—they're being pushed back into their own. I feel very sorry for them.

Petrore Morasi

IQ = 106 (medium); aspired to HSC in Grades 9 and 10; school accreditation—high HSC.

Petrore was born in Poland and the family came to Australia when he was 13 years old. His mother and father appear to be separated, and he lives with his mother and one of his cousins. He said that his father works at a petrol station. His mother works fulltime in a factory.

In Grade 11 Petrore hoped to complete HSC and attend university. He wanted to be a computer programmer. This had also been his aspiration in Grade 10.

Petrore did not begin to speak English until he came to Australia at the age of 13, and he still uses Polish when speaking to his mother and his cousin. He reported that he understands, speaks, reads and writes Polish better than he does English. When filling in the questionnaire he indicated that he 'often' uses Polish to write letters and 'often' reads Polish newspapers, magazines and books. He 'sometimes' uses Polish when speaking to friends informally, and he 'sometimes' listens to Polish records or Polish ethnic radio broadcasts, and 'sometimes' sees Polish films. He 'sometimes' translates for his mother when she is talking to English-speaking people and 'sometimes' helps her by translating official forms, letters, newspapers, school notices and reports.

His reply to the question concerning whether migrants should learn their parents' language shows a certain degree of pride in his Polish heritage. It was written in Polish.

Yes, I think that children ought to learn the language of their parents. Having an additional language may always come in handy when choosing a career, for example dealing with tourists also strengthens the ties (bond) between the child and other children who come from the same country. The child can be proud of the fact that he knows more languages than his peers, he may feel a fully entitled member of a big ethnic (national), group and generally in the future if he wishes to visit his fatherland the knowledge of the language would enable him to make new friends and take part in different events.

When asked how migrants had settled he emphasised the effect that migrants had had on the Australian scene:

There is a wide range of services and products introduced by migrants. This has resulted in more jobs.

Mei Wong

IQ = 131 (high); aspired to HSC in Grade 9 and Grade 10; school accreditation—high HSC.

Mei's parents are Chinese and she was born in Hong Kong. She is the youngest in a family of 4 girls. The family came to Australia when she was 9 years old. Her father works as a barman and her mother works in a factory.

In Grade 10 Mei had hoped to attend university and become a physiotherapist but by Grade 11 she aspired to attend a secretarial or business college in order to obtain a job in a bank or as a secretary.

Mei's first language was Cantonese Chinese, and Chinese is still the main language spoken in the home. However, Mei and the two sisters closest to her own age also converse in English. Although Mei did not speak English until she was 10 years old, she says that she understands English better than Chinese, and can only read Chinese 'not very much' and writes Chinese only 'very little'.

Mei attended special English classes in primary school and found them enjoyable.

When filling in the questionnaire Mei indicated that she 'sometimes' interprets for her parents when they are talking to English-speaking people, and she 'sometimes' translates official forms, letters, newspapers and school notices. She indicated that she 'often' translates her school reports for her parents and 'often' fills in forms in English for them.

In reply to the question 'Should migrant children learn their parents' language?' Mei said:

Yes, definitely: It often distresses parents that their children, in adopting the new country, forget their home country to which they owe allegiance. Also, if their parents do not speak English, the children ought to be able to bridge the communication gap between their parents and everything that goes on around them. If children are unable to communicate in their parents' language and the parents speak no English, generation and communication gaps and many other family problems are inevitable.

In reply to the question 'How have migrants settled into this country?', she replied:

The children have assimilated well. The workers usually manage to find jobs. Many older migrants, especially women I've seen, seem to find life boring. Often migrants keep to themselves. Sometimes there are migrant ghettos, with some members being layabouts.

Alexandra Papalardo

IQ = 130 (high); aspired to HSC in Grade 9 and/or Grade 10; school accreditation—high HSC.

Alexandra was born in Australia but her father was born in Italy and her mother in Yugoslavia. Her father works as a storeman for QANTAS and her mother does not work outside the home. In Grade 11, Alexandra hoped to attend university to study medicine.

Alexandra spoke Italian as her first language, but learnt English when she was 2 or 3 years old. She reported that she speaks, understands, reads and writes English better than she does Italian, although she attended Italian language classes up until recently for a period of more than 3 years. She indicated that she had found them useful, but not enjoyable. She speaks both Italian and English to her parents in the home but speaks only English to her younger brother and sister.

When filling in the questionnaire she indicated that she 'never' interpreted for her parents and 'never' helped them by translating official forms, newspapers, etc. However, she 'sometimes' filled in forms or wrote letters in English for them.

When she answered the question concerning whether it is a good idea for children of parents from non-English-speaking countries to learn their parents' language, she gave logical reasons to support the learning of the ethnic language, but stressed migrants' obligation to learn the language of the country in which they have chosen to live. Her answer was written in Italian.

Yes, I think that the language of the parents (relatives) is important and I have an advantage over the other children. But the parents must learn the language of the country in which they live and this is more important because this is the country in which they have chosen to bring up their children. But, they must have a way in which their children learn their language in case one day the children wish to visit their parents' country. With this language their children will benefit and another language can always help them. But they must treat the language of their parents as a second language and the one of the country in which they are living as the first.

When asked how migrants have settled in this country, Alexandra identified all Australians as migrants. She replied:

I think they have settled in comparatively well. Apart from some Australians who are racially prejudiced and who do not realize that once they too were migrants. Australia is built up of a country of migrants lest them be 1st generation or 10th generation Australians.

George Lopez

IQ = 89 (low); aspired to the HSC in Grade 9 and 10; school accreditation—low SC.

George and his parents were born in Uruguay and arrived in Australia when George was 14 years old. His father is a process worker and his mother doesn't work outside the home.

In Grade 10, George wanted to be an accountant. He hoped to complete HSC and go on to university. However, he left school after completing his SC:

I left secondary school because there were not enough places for all the boys who wished to do 5th form, plus language problems.

However, he had not given up study, and was attending Bankstown Technical College. He was doing the diploma entrance course and still hoped to do something with mathematics—either computer programming or accountancy.

George spoke only Spanish until he was 14 years old, and the family converse in Spanish in the home. He attended special English classes at high school. He reads, writes, understands and speaks Spanish better than English. In answering the questionnaire he indicated that he 'often' writes letters in Spanish and sometimes listens to Spanish on the radio or reads Spanish

newspapers, magazines and books. He never speaks Spanish at social gatherings, or sees Spanish films. He reported that he 'sometimes' interpreted for his parents when they were talking to English-speaking people and he 'sometimes' translated official forms, letters, newspapers, school notices and school reports for them. He 'never' wrote letters or filled in forms in English for his mother.

When asked to reply in his own language to the question concerning whether it is a good idea for children of parents from non-English-speaking countries to learn their parents' language, he wrote (in Spanish):

> Yes, I think it's a good idea that the children whose parents are not Australian learn their parents' native tongue, because in homes of most immigrants they usually speak the idiom of their native country as English seems to be very difficult to learn at their age. Besides children would also be able to understand their parents' cultural background by means of their foreign idiom. It may also be of some use if one day they decide to return to their native country, or to assist other people who speak the same idiom and have problems with English or ever teach their language in Australia.

When asked how migrants have settled into this country he showed appreciation of ethnic language media and government help.

> I think that now the migrants are more comfortables [*sic*] in Australia, because there're newspapers written in many languages, more help by the Australian Government to the immigrants. There is a special radio than [*sic*] only have programs in languages other than English.

Michael Fratini

IQ = 127 (high); aspired to HSC in Grade 9 and/or Grade 10; school accreditation—medium HSC.

Michael was born in Australia but his parents were born in Italy. His father works as a storeman at the docks and his mother works in a hospital laundry.

In Grade 11 Michael hoped to attend university and then work as a chartered accountant or as a geography teacher. He had also aspired to university in Grade 10. In answer to the question concerning the influence of his parents on his hopes about education and jobs he wrote:

> My parents are very helpful to me although they are immigrants, they help me through my school by telling me to be patient and to try hard and give me what I need for schooling.

Michael learnt English as a first language, but both English and Italian are spoken in the home. However, he said that he speaks English to all members of his family. He indicated that he understands English best and that he speaks and reads only 'some' Italian and cannot write it. He never attended Italian language classes. When filling out the questionnaire he indicated that he 'sometimes' listened to Italian recordings or read Italian newspapers or magazines, and 'sometimes' helped his parents by interpreting for them when they were talking to English-speaking people. However he 'never' translated forms, etc. or wrote letters in English for his parents.

When asked whether he thought it a good idea for migrant children to learn their parents' language Michael replied:

> I think it is a good idea that you know your parents' language. Although I cannot write or speak Italian it would sometimes be easier for me to be able to speak the language and help my parents when they need help in translating a language. But I can help my parents speaking simple English to them and they understand.

When asked how migrants had settled into this country he wrote:

> I have settled down alright my parents have and I think most migrants have settled down but they cannot allow their customs to be free in this country.

Christina Angelini

IQ = 97 (low); aspired to HSC in Grade 9 and/or Grade 10; school accreditation—low HSC.

Mr and Mrs Angelini were born in Italy but Christina was born in Australia. Her father works as a labourer in the railways and her mother is a cleaner at a high school.

In Grade 11 Christina aspired to become a secretary or receptionist, and she was already working 15 hours a week as a doctor's receptionist. She hoped to complete her HSC, and then do a course at technical college. She had had the same aspirations all through high school.

Christina's first language was Italian, but she began to speak English by the age of 3 years. She still speaks Italian to her parents, but she speaks English to her two brothers. She says that she is more proficient in English than Italian, but is still able to read, write and understand Italian. She had attended classes in Italian for more than 3 years, and was still attending them in Grade 9, although she reported that she would have to leave.

In answer to the questionnaire, Christina indicated that she 'often' used Italian when speaking to the family, at social gatherings and at ethnic school. She also 'often' used it when listening to the radio and to records. Christina 'sometimes' uses Italian when speaking to friends informally or when going to films, and 'sometimes' writes letters in Italian or reads Italian language newspapers or magazines. She reported that she 'often' interprets for her parents when they are talking to English-speaking people, and 'often' helps them by translating official forms, letters, newspapers, school notices and reports and news on TV.

When asked whether migrant children should learn their parents' language, Christina replied with an example of how she uses her bilingual skills to help other migrants. The translation of her reply is as follows:

> Yes, because I can help my parents who do not understand English. When I work for the doctor, people come who do not know how to speak English and want someone to help. I am there and I speak Italian and I can explain to the doctor what's wrong with them, and what they want.

In answer to the question 'Write a few lines about how you find teachers at your school', Christina wrote as part of her answer:

> Many teachers don't like migrants and that's probably why most migrant parents are always in a lower class. I notice at our school all the Australians are in 4A while all the migrants are in 4C and they can do just about the same type of work if they were only given a chance. Teachers though are a great help and I like them all, they're a great bunch and I have never have a better time at school than this year. They have helped me a real lot and I'm very grateful. They always listen to you, and help you with a [*sic*] problems of school work.

When asked how migrants have settled, her reply mentioned only the reasons why migrants left their homeland and made no comment concerning life in Australia:

> They come from under-populated or over-populated countries. Come from land of poor soils. If there's a war to escape it and come to Australia.

Maria Karvounis

IQ = 109 (medium); aspired to the HSC in Grade 9 and/or Grade 10; school accreditation—high HSC.

In Grade 11 Maria aspired to attend university to study journalism. This had been her second choice in earlier years, when she had preferred a career in law. However, she had always hoped to attend university.

In reply to the question concerning the influence that her father and mother had had on her hopes about education and jobs, Maria wrote:

> None at all. I have my own mind and I'm mature enough to make decisions for myself. They have not influenced me but they encourage me.

Maria said she sometimes felt uncertain about getting the education or job she desired because:

> My parents are too strict and I want to be able to go out and work and tell them to go to hell and the stacks of work at school and uni might get me down.

Maria learnt both Greek and English from early childhood and the family speaks both Greek and English in the home. However, Maria says that she understands, speaks, reads and writes English best. She went to Greek language classes for 6 years, while she was in primary school, but although she found them 'useful' she indicated that she did not find them enjoyable. In answering the questionnaire she indicated that she 'often' speaks Greek to the family and 'sometimes' speaks Greek to her friends or at social gatherings, and 'sometimes' writes letters in Greek. However, she 'never' goes to Greek films or listens to Greek radio or records. Nor does she ever read Greek books, newspapers or magazines.

She also indicated that she 'sometimes' interprets for her parents and 'often' helps them by translating official forms and 'sometimes' translates letters or newspapers. 'Sometimes' she writes letters or fills in forms in English for them.

At the end of the questionnaire Maria commented:

> I know that many people don't think I've got Greek parents cause I don't look it but I'm not ashamed to say so. But some foreigners make me sick and I put up with it more cause my own parents are Greek. But I feel sorry for other people who have to put up with them.

Although Maria said that she was not ashamed of her Greek origins, she seemed to want to reject any identification with the Greek or migrant communities. When asked whether migrant children should learn their parents' language, she wrote a short sentence in Greek, which when translated was:

They must learn the English language because they will live here and because Australia will be their country.

Then she added in English:

How's that for gas. My spellings not too hot though. Strictly though I think that they should learn English. My parents are Greek but I can't stand the other Greek chicks at school. They're a bunch of bloody dead ————. I'm cool.

In answer to the question 'How have migrants settled into this country?' she wrote:

They give everyone the ———— especially if they can't speak English, have garlic hanging out of their socks and bug people yelling in their own language. Their [*sic*] frustrated. But some that have been here for a few generations are cool.

Karen Johnson

IQ=127 (high); aspired to HSC in Grade 9 and/or Grade 10; school accreditation—medium HSC.

Karen's mother was born in Denmark but Karen and her father were both born in Australia. Her father works as pharmaceutical adviser for the Health Commission for all hospitals in N.S.W. Her mother does not work outside the home.

In Grade 11, Karen aspired to attend a college of advanced education or teachers college, as she had done throughout secondary school. She wanted to be either a public relations officer or a secondary school English teacher.

When asked whether migrant children should learn their parents' language Karen replied:

No. definitely not because if wogs etc. want to come to this country they should respect the fact that we speak English so they should too its very peturbing [*sic*] to walk thru Rockdale and run into a crowd of sweaty smelly wogs who chatter off in some spick language. I'm not saying they are all like this but unfortunately everybody is tarred with the same brush. Speak the language inside there [*sic*] own home. O.K. Yes because soon the question will be have the English or Australians settled in this country there are too many of them.

Donald Mackie

IQ=132 (high); aspired to HSC in Grade 9 and/or Grade 10; school accreditation—medium HSC.

His father was born in Scotland but Donald and his mother were born in Australia. His father works as a clerk in the Main Roads Department, and his mother packs groceries at a supermarket.

In Grade 11 Donald hoped to attend a college of advanced education and he aspired to be a teacher or a careers adviser.

When asked whether migrant children should learn their parents' language he replied:

Yes as it gives them an insight into the background and the nature of the language and a general outline of the lifestyle of your parents. The language gives the child a general history of why the language was actually formed as it was and who it was that actually created the language. It would also give the parents a good feeling to know that they have been able to pass on their language to their children in an English-speaking country.

When asked how migrants have settled into this country Donald admitted that Australians sometimes make it difficult for them:

They have settled in fairly well in some cases but are apt to be disturbed by the rowdiness of the Australians towards them.

Jillian Landy

IQ=131 (high); aspired to HSC in Grade 9 and/or Grade 10; school accreditation—high HSC.

Both Jillian and her parents are Australian born. Her father works as a sales representative and her mother works part time.

In Grade 11 Jillian aspired to attend technical college after completing her HSC. She hoped to become a private secretary in a business firm.

In reply to the question 'Should migrant children learn their parents' language?' Jillian supported the introduction of ethnic languages as school subjects, because this would relieve the work load of the migrant students. She said:

> I think this is a good idea, but they should also learn to speak English properly. Children should learn the language of their parents because they will get a better idea of both cultures. If they could take their parents' language as a subject at school it would be easier for them, so that they could spend more time on their other subjects, which they may not understand too well because their parents are not English speaking.

When asked 'How have migrants settled into this country?' Jillian replied:

> When migrants come to Australia they generally settle where there are already people from their country living. Some mix in very well with Australians, but others always speak their own language and mix with only people from their own country.

Deidre O'Rourke

IQ=115 (high); aspired to HSC in Grade 9 and/or Grade 10; school accreditation—medium SC.

Both Deidre and her parents were born in Australia. Her parents are divorced and she lives with her mother and stepfather. It is not clear whether she was referring to her father or her stepfather when she wrote that his job was to serve summonses and 'garnishes'.

In both Grade 9 and Grade 10 Deidre hoped to get a job in theatrical work. In Grade 10 she aspired to complete HSC and then to attend the National Institute of Dramatic Art. However, she returned to school for only 3 months after the School Certificate, then left to become a bank officer.

Deidre strongly supported the idea that migrants need to learn English, and was also very sensitive about criticism of her own country. When asked whether migrants should learn their parents' language she wrote:

> Non! If these people are going to come out and live in our country they should change some of their ways and means to the Australian ways. They ought to learn Australian ways and above all LEARN ENGLISH!!!—and stop running our great country down!

When asked how migrants had settled in this country Deidre elaborated on the same theme:

> Quite well, but I don't like the way they have their little communities—it's like another Italy and Greece all packed into one. If they aren't going to make a start and mix with Australians and learn our language they ought to go back to where they come from.
>
> These people won't have anything to do with Australians yet they'll live in our country. Also they come out to our country to get away from their's (take Ireland, with their bombs, etc.) They come out and run Australia down—they just won't stop—yet they won't go back to their own country. Some people settle in well and really make a 'go' of it, they try to change their ways and they learn English—these people, I feel they have got a right to stay in this country. But the rest—can go right back to their own 'fantastic' mother countries!

Joclyn Warwick

IQ=86 (low); aspired to HSC in Grade 9 and/or Grade 10; school accreditation—low HSC.

Both Joclyn and her parents were born in Australia. Her father is retired, but he had been a storeman. Her mother works part time in a store.

In Grade 11 Joclyn wanted to complete HSC and then attend a technical college. She aspired to be a veterinary nurse.

In answer to the question 'Is it a good idea for children of parents from NES countries to learn their parents' language?' Joclyn wrote:

> No. If they are born in Australia they should learn English. I feel if they want to learn their own language why don't they go back to their own country instead. This is Australia not a combination of different languages of people. Over the years Australia has vastly turned into a foreign country which annoys me why cannot Australia be a Aussie land. Yes I agree it is good to know another language but why use it in Australia. Why not learn it but speak it in their own country. Australia should be keep as Australia. I feel it is unfair that Australia should be overun [*sic*] with foreigners and different migrants coming in we do not persist in travelling in other countries, yes maybe travel but we don't overun [*sic*] their country with Australians.

She said when asked 'How have migrants settled into this country?'

> They have just crowded I've noticed. They have large families in Australia and want to be natonished [*sic*] as an Australian citizen. The migrants have settled quite frequently and accordingly [*sic*] to me to quick.

James Roberts

IQ=97 (low); aspired to HSC in Grades 9 or 10; school accreditation—low SC. James and his parents were born in Australia. Mr Roberts works as a port-operations officer and his wife works part time as a survey interviewer.

James did not aspire to remain to HSC in Grade 10 although he had done so in Grade 9. He hoped to do a further course at a technical college. In Grade 10 he aspired to a job as an 'organ maker and repairer' or as a 'musician', but also seemed interested in woodwork. James was successful in getting a job as an apprentice carpenter and joiner.

When asked how migrants have settled into this country he wrote:

> Not very well, they always seem to get picked on especially if they can't speak English, but they deserve it.

It appears that although James sees the migrants' problems, he augments them. His antagonistic attitude towards migrants is further revealed in his answer to the question about whether it is a good idea for children of parents from non-English-speaking countries to learn their parents' language.

> No, but if going back to their own country, they can. There are too many wogs in Australia that speak a wog language, say, you're walking along a street and you here [*sic*] two old Italians, yabbering away it sounds awful, if they want to come to Australia they should learn to speak English and not allowed to come here unless they have.

The diversity of student opinion indicated in the case studies towards the teaching of community languages in schools most likely reflects a variance in community attitudes on this issue. One influential group in relation to the teaching of community languages is that of the teachers themselves.

Teachers' attitudes towards the teaching of ethnic languages in schools

Report No. 2 described in detail a survey of 637 teachers which focused on secondary teachers' perceptions of problems (Meade, 1981). However, teachers were also asked the following question: 'Do you think that children of non-English-speaking migrant parents should have the opportunity to learn the language of their parents?'

Forty per cent of teachers agreed, 44 per cent thought that this type of study should be pursued outside normal high school hours, 11 per cent were indifferent and 5 per cent thought that migrant students should have no opportunity at all to learn their parents' language. One teacher, who was born in Australia and teaches industrial arts, made the following comment in support of his answer:

> Being in a predominantly English-speaking country that is very isolated I see no point in learning a language unless a particular individual has a purpose in mind, e.g. overseas trips or communicating with overseas subsidiary companies. I find it no reflection on me or my profession that I have not chosen to learn another language.
>
> A few more immigrants should be learning English so they can help their children. The biggest problem young children with migrant parents have is the change in language from their parents' language to what is taught at school.

The teacher response is disappointingly negative and, when coupled with the response to teaching community languages above, leads to the conclusion that there are a number of teachers who do not fully accept the notion that the multicultural nature of our Australian society should be reflected in the classroom.

CHAPTER 4

Educational and occupational aspirations

INTRODUCTION

A major aim of this investigation is to trace the connections between brightness, educational opportunity, aspirations and accreditation. The notion of an institutional ideology, which was introduced in Chapter 2, postulates that school personnel encourage bright children to have every confidence in their own ability and be motivated to aspire high and work hard so that they leave the school accredited to enter tertiary institutions and ultimately high status occupations. Under this notion the school is not so concerned with the less bright children. It steers them away from unrealistic educational goals. To the extent that teachers, parents and students share this common ideology, the school careers of students will be highly predictable and consistent. The focus of this chapter is on aspirations which are important intervening variables in this process.

Significant others—parents, peers and teachers—are seen as having an influence on the aspirations of the students. Educational and occupational aspirations have been shown to be related to particular parental behaviours such as encouragement, interest, expectations and parental education levels.[1]

The aspirations held by the students' peers may also influence the students' own aspirations. Several studies[2] document the congruence in the educational aspirations of students and their close friends. Teacher expectations can also contribute to a student's commitment to succeed at school.[3]

As previously discussed, there are three perspectives which challenge or reject the nexus that the ideology asserts between performance, opportunity, motivations/aspirations and accreditation. Sex role perspectives accept the bright child career as more appropriate for boys than girls. Class perspectives introduce the idea, among those in higher class positions, that accreditation should not depend on brightness. Ethnic differentiation produces a number of perspectives that deny the association between performance and aspirations.

Several Australian studies[4] have concluded that boys have higher aspirations than girls. Other researchers[5] claim that the lower aspirations held by girls have several sources. Girls display lower self-esteem and self-confidence than boys, which in turn influence aspirations. As a result of socialising influences from significant others such as parents, peers and teachers, girls are more likely than boys to impose limitations on their life chances.

Social class has an important influence on educational and occupational aspirations. It has been well documented that the middle class have higher educational and occupational aspirations than the working class.[6]

Several Australian studies have shown that migrant parents[7] and students[8] from migrant families have high educational aspirations. One explanation of these findings sees

1. For a review of literature on this topic, see Meade, 1978:42.
2. Alexander and Campbell, 1964; Duncan et al., 1968; Kandel and Lesser, 1970; Krauss, 1964; McDill and Coleman, 1965; Simpson, 1962.
3. Knight, 1974.
4. Behrens, 1978; Meade, 1978; Parker, 1976; Poole and Simkin, 1978; Pryor and Hawkins, 1975; Sinclair et al., 1977.
5. Beswick, 1975; Connell et al., 1975; Edgar 1972, 1974; Meade, 1978.
6. References to important studies in this area are given in Sewell and Shah, 1968*b*. Australian studies include Connell, 1972; Taft, 1975*a* and *b*; Toomey, 1968, 1974.
7. Connell et al., 1975; Isaacs, 1979; Rosenthal and Morrison, 1978; Taft, 1975*a* and *b*; Turney et al., 1978.
8. Appleyard and Amera, 1978; Bowen, 1977; Browning, 1979; Burns and Goodnow, 1979; Cox, 1975; Doczy, 1968; Marjoribanks, 1978, 1980; Noble and Ryan, 1976; Survey of Youth in Victoria, 1967; Smolicz and Wiseman, 1971; Taft and Cahill, 1978; Young et al., 1980.

the migrant parent as someone with an unskilled job and low status exacerbated by a lack of education and mastery of English. Often the only chance of success of such a migrant is to experience it vicariously through the achievement of his own child (see Bowen, 1977; and Taft and Cahill, 1978). An alternative explanation describes the migrant parent as a 'marginal man'—alienated from both his native and adopted cultures. This explanation sees great ambition and energy as being a result of this marginality (Kovacs, 1955). Smolicz and Wiseman (1971:9) introduced the concept 'migrant drive' which they see as a type of social mobility orientation led by migrants who have little or no property or position in the community and who wish to make up for this through their children's success in school and careers. Martin and Meade (1979*a*) adopt a different approach and suggest that for the migrant parent, the school is, above all, a socialising rather than an accrediting agency—the job of the school is to turn migrant children into Australians.

HIGH SCHOOL EDUCATIONAL ASPIRATIONS

Students

Fifty-seven per cent of students aspired to remain at school to the HSC in Grade 9 and/or Grade 10.[9] Fifty-six per cent of the boys and 57 per cent of the girls aspired to remain at school to the HSC. Diagram 8 reveals that a higher percentage of the children of NES origin migrant parents (67 per cent) aspired to the HSC in comparison with the ES/NES group (61 per cent), the migrant group from ES countries (59 per cent) and the group of children with Australian-born parents (53 per cent). Wide variations occurred in the proportion of students who aspired to remain at school to the HSC among the ethnic subgroups. The highest aspiring groups were the Greeks (80 per cent) and the Yugoslavs (75 per cent). In contrast, only 27 per cent of the Maltese students aspired to complete the HSC.

The effect of IQ and SES can be seen from Table 20A. Seventy-three per cent of those with higher IQ aspired to the HSC compared with only 42 per cent of those with lower IQ. SES also has some effect on aspirations. A larger proportion of those from higher SES backgrounds aspired to gain the HSC (66 per cent) than did those from lower SES backgrounds (54 per cent). When groups of similar IQ, similar SES, or similar IQ and SES, are compared, those with two parents of NES origin were more likely to aspire to continue to the HSC than were any other categories of students. The results were most marked for the lower IQ lower SES students—57 per cent of the NES origin students aspired to the HSC compared with 47 per cent of the ES/NES group, 32 per cent of students with both parents born overseas in ES countries, and 28 per cent of those students with Australian-born parents.

The Weighted Net Percentage Difference (WNPD), described in Chapter 2, was utilised to illustrate the independent influences of IQ, SES and ethnicity on aspirations. The results were:

(a) 34 per cent on the basis of higher versus lower IQ;
(b) 11 per cent on the basis of higher versus lower SES; and
(c) 22 per cent on the basis of NES origin[10] i.e. students of NES migrant origin have an 'advantage' of 22 per cent when compared with the rest of the student sample.

The figures demonstrate the powerful influence of IQ on aspirations while SES is also shown to have an independent effect. When the effects of these two variables were controlled, students of NES migrant origin have a decided advantage if higher educational aspirations are valued.

9. See Table 33, Appendix F.
10. The results by parents' country of birth for remaining groups were: −16 per cent (both Australian), −1 per cent (both overseas born in ES countries) and 4 per cent (ES/NES).

DIAGRAM 8

STUDENT ASPIRATION FOR HIGH SCHOOL EDUCATION

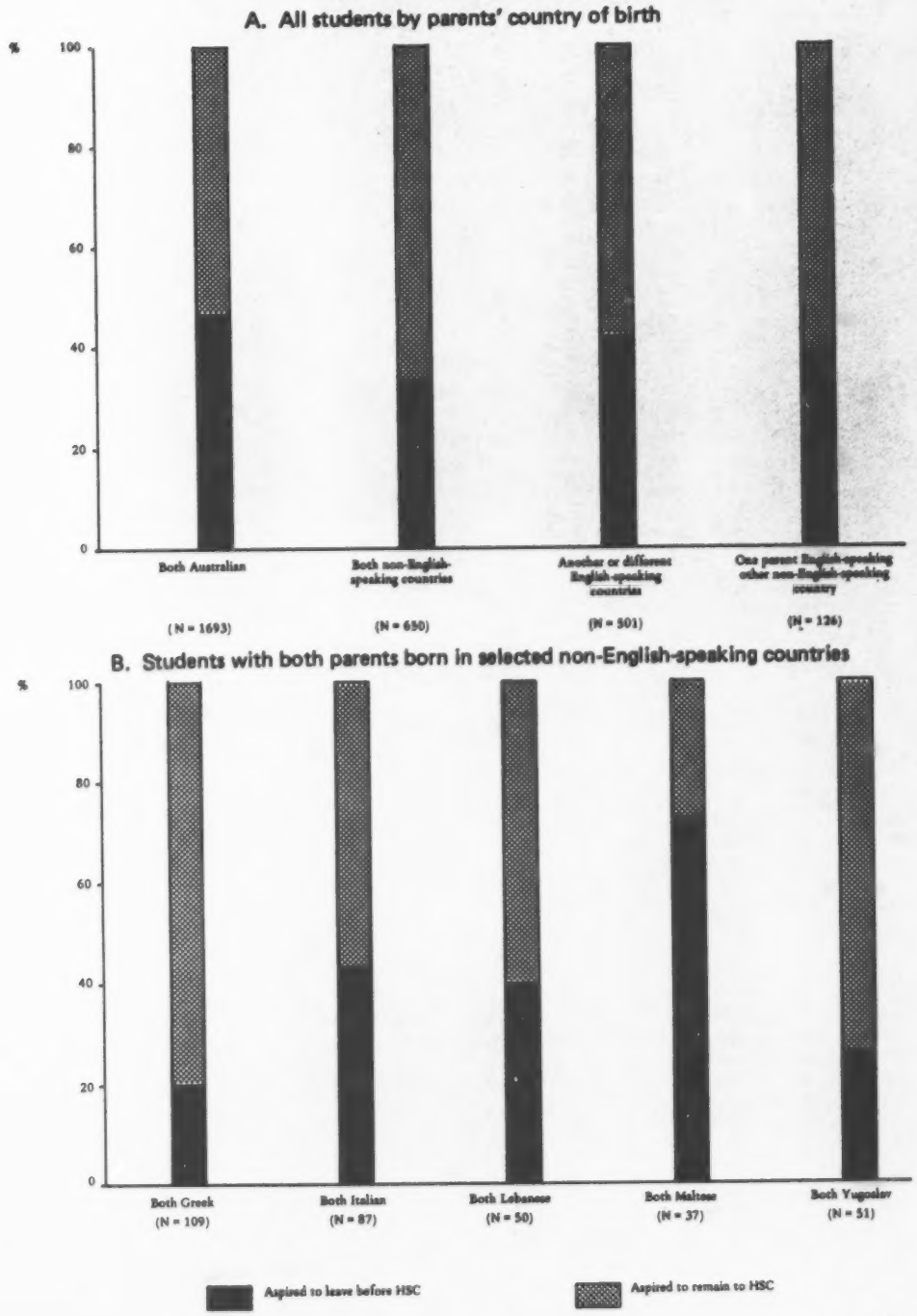

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Table 20A

STUDENTS' ASPIRATIONS FOR HIGH SCHOOL EDUCATION BY LINGUISTIC AND QUANTITATIVE IQ (ML & MQ) BY SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS

All students by parents' of birth

		Parents' country of birth				
Linguistic and quantitative IQ (ML and MQ)	*Socio-economic status*	*Both Australian*	*Both non-English-speaking countries*	*Another or different English-speaking countries*	*One parent English-speaking other non-English-speaking country*	*Total*
		% who aspired to HSC (a)	*% who aspired to HSC (a)*	*% who aspired to HSC (a)*	*% who aspired to HSC (a)*	*% who aspired to HSC (a)*
Higher (107–135)	Higher (ANU status categories 1–8)	74	93	83	77	78
	Lower (ANU status categories 9–16)	65	82	70	71	69
Lower (70–106)	Higher	36	74	49	53	45
	Lower	28	57	32	47	40
Total higher IQ		69	86	76	74	73
Total lower IQ		31	60	37	49	42
	Total higher SES	61	83	71	69	66
	Total lower SES	48	65	52	58	54
Grand total (N = 2 740) (*b*)		53	68	60	63	58

(*a*) Students who aspired to Higher School Certificate in either Grade 9 or Grade 10 or both.
(*b*) Actual cell frequencies can be calculated from values given in Table 5A.

The effect of IQ and SES on student aspirations for each ethnic subgroup is shown in Table 20B.[11] The analysis enables an examination to be made of 'ethclass' (see Marjoribanks, 1980). It should be noted that some of the cells, particularly those in the higher IQ, higher SES category contain low numbers. In the Italian and the Maltese groups there were markedly larger proportions of higher IQ higher SES students aspiring to the HSC compared with lower IQ lower SES students. In comparison with the other groups the influence of SES was less prominent for the Greek students.

The WNPD was applied to the data in Table 20B with the Maltese group excluded owing to small numbers. When discussing the limitations of the WNPD technique, Spady (1970) points out that care should be taken to ensure that all numbers should be at least as large as 10 cases. Some of the cells in the higher IQ higher SES category are below this minimum and, as a result, some care should be exercised in interpreting the results which were as follows:

(a) 27 per cent on the basis of higher versus lower IQ;
(b) 11 per cent on the basis of higher versus lower SES;
(c) 19 per cent on the basis of Greek origin i.e. students of Greek origin have an 'advantage' of 19 per cent when compared with the combined Italian, Lebanese and Yugoslav sample;
(d) −19 per cent on the basis of Italian origin;
(e) −7 per cent on the basis of Lebanese origin; and
(f) 3 per cent on the basis of Yugoslav origin.

The separate influences of IQ and SES for these NES origin students are similar to the sample as a whole. The figures for each ethnic group demonstrate that, with the influences of IQ and SES controlled, marked variations occur among the ethnic groups in the proportions aspiring to the HSC ranging from Greeks in the higher category to Italians in the lower.

Parents

Parents in the interview sample were asked to indicate the aspirations they had for their child's education (Diagram 9).[12] Overall, 59 per cent of parents aspired for their child to remain at school to the HSC. Fifty-eight per cent of the parents of boys and 60 per cent of the parents of girls in the study had HSC attendance aspirations. Marked variations occurred in the proportions when the results were classified by parents' country of birth. The ES/NES and NES origin parents placed more emphasis on continuing to the HSC (75 per cent and 67 per cent respectively) compared with the ES migrant parents and the Australian-born parents (51 per cent and 48 per cent). Among the ethnic subgroups, with the exception of the Maltese parents, there were consistently high proportions aspiring to the HSC. The results ranged from 84 per cent for the Greeks to 24 per cent for the Maltese.

The influence of IQ and SES on actual aspirations of parents in the interview sample is shown in Table 21A. It is recalled that the interview sample is weighted towards NES origin migrant families. The percentage of NES origin migrant parents who aspired for their child to complete the HSC was markedly higher than the Australian-born parents in each category e.g. for the lower SES, NES parents with lower IQ children, 55 per cent wanted their child to complete the HSC compared with 15 per cent of the Australian-born parents in this classification. Overall, the table reveals the pervasive composite influence of parent's SES and child's IQ on parental aspirations.

11. Some variations in total percentages for each ethnic subgroup occur between Table 20B and Diagram 8, due to missing values in the table resulting from the SES variable. These variations also occur for similar comparisons in following tables throughout the text.

12. See Table 34, Appendix F.

Table 20B

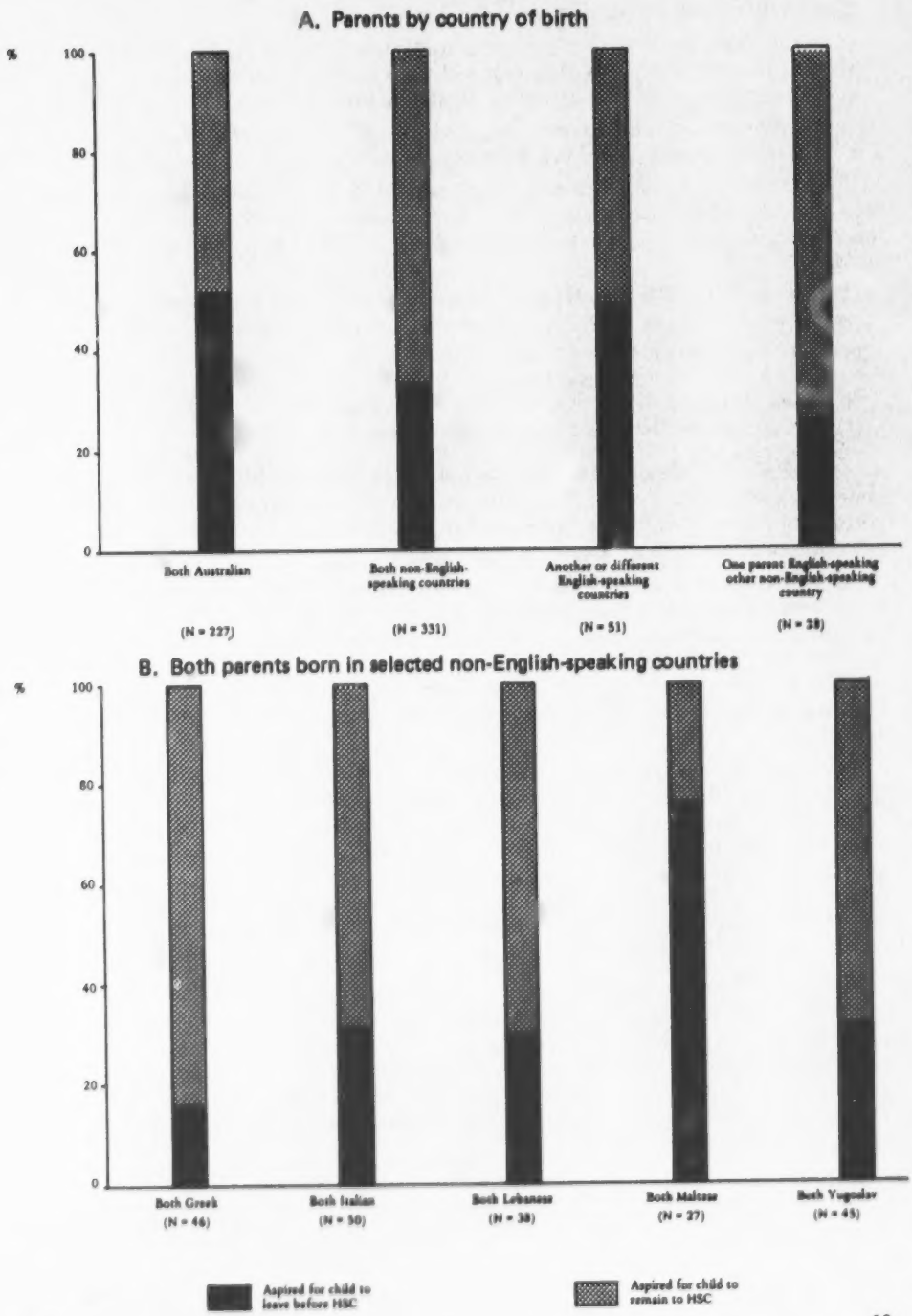
STUDENTS' ASPIRATIONS FOR HIGH SCHOOL EDUCATION BY LINGUISTIC AND QUANTITATIVE IQ (ML & MQ) BY SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS

Students with both parents born in selected non-English speaking countries

Linguistic and quantitative IQ (ML and MQ)	*Socio-economic status*	*Parents' country of birth*				
		Both Greek	*Both Italian*	*Both Lebanese*	*Both Maltese*	*Both Yugoslav*
		% who aspired to HSC(a)	*% who aspired to HSC(a)*	*% who aspired to HSC(a)*	*% who aspired to HSC(a)*	*% who aspired to HSC(a)*
Higher (107–135)	Higher (ANU status categories 1–8)	100+ (c)	100	100+	100+	80
	Lower (ANU status categories 9–16)	100	76	83	43	92
Lower (70–106)	Higher	92	57	75+	100+	67+
	Lower	74	46	53	18	67
Total higher IQ		100	82	89	50	88
Total lower IQ		77	47	56	22	67
	Total higher SES	94	79	86	100+	75
	Total lower SES	83	55	58	24	74
Grand total(b)		85	59	63	29	74

(a) Students who aspired to Higher School Certificate in either Grade 9 or Grade 10 or both.
(b) Actual cell frequencies can be calculated from values given in Table 5B.
(c) + used where cell total is less than five.

DIAGRAM 9
PARENTS' ASPIRATIONS FOR THEIR CHILD'S HIGH SCHOOL EDUCATION



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Nevertheless, IQ had a much greater effect on parental aspirations for the child to complete the HSC (73 per cent higher, 46 per cent lower) than SES (65 per cent higher, 57 per cent lower).

The WNPD results for parents' aspirations were:

(a) 31 per cent on the basis of parents of students with higher versus lower IQ;
(b) 13 per cent on the basis of parents with higher versus lower SES; and
(c) 29 per cent on the basis of parents of NES origin.[13]

Thus, NES origin migrant parents have an 'advantage' of 29 per cent over the remainder of the parent sample when the influences of SES and students' IQ are controlled.

The influence of IQ and SES on parents' aspirations for their child's education for each ethnic subgroup is shown in Table 21B. The results mirror the trends revealed in the analysis of students' aspirations (Table 20B). WNPD results for parents' aspirations were:

(a) 29 per cent on the basis of parents of students with higher versus lower IQ;
(b) 19 per cent on the basis of parents with higher versus lower SES;
(c) 15 per cent on the basis of parents of Greek origin;
(d) −9 per cent on the basis of parents of Italian origin;
(e) 3 per cent on the basis of parents of Lebanese origin; and
(f) −3 per cent on the basis of parents of Yugoslav origin.

As with results for 'students' the separate influences of IQ and SES are similar to the sample as a whole. Marked variations occurred among the ethnic subgroups in the proportions of parents aspiring for their child to remain at school to the HSC when the influences of IQ and SES were statistically controlled.

As all parents were unable to be interviewed, students' perceptions of mother's and father's disappointment if their child fails to gain the HSC were utilised as an indirect measure of parental aspirations (Table 22). As almost identical responses occurred for 'mother' and 'father' only those for 'mother' are recorded. Overall, 45 per cent of students perceived that their mother would be disappointed if they did not gain the HSC and the results followed similar trends to those discussed above for parents' own aspirations.

The coincidence of parents' and child's educational aspirations were calculated for the subset of families in the parent interview sample (Diagram 10).[14] A high degree of coincidence of parents' and child's aspirations is revealed. Overall, in 53 per cent of cases, both parents and child aspired to the HSC while, in 30 per cent of cases, neither gave this response. Thus, in 83 per cent of cases, both parents and child shared a common aspiration—for the child either to complete the HSC or not. There were only minor differences in the results for boys and girls—52 per cent of the boys and their parents aspired to the HSC, compared with 54 per cent of the girls and their parents.

As expected from earlier tables, a greater percentage of NES and ES/NES students and their parents expressed a common aspiration for the child to complete the HSC. Sixty-one per cent of the ES/NES group and 60 per cent of the parents and children of NES origin aspired to the HSC while comparative figures for the overseas-born ES group and the Australian-born group were 49 per cent and 42 per cent respectively.[15] Diagram 10 reaffirms that a high proportion of Maltese parents and children aspired to leave school prior to the HSC.

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13. The result by parents' country of birth for remaining groups were:
−27 per cent (both Australian), −17 per cent (both overseas born in ES countries) and 6 per cent (ES/NES).

14. See Table 35, Appendix F.

15. See Table 35, Appendix F.

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Table 21A

PARENTS' ASPIRATIONS FOR THEIR CHILD'S HIGH SCHOOL EDUCATION BY LINGUISTIC AND QUANTITATIVE IQ(ML & MQ) AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS

By parents' country of birth

		Parents' country of birth														
		Both Australian			*Both non-English-speaking countries*			*Another or different English-speaking countries*			*One parent English-speaking other non-English-speaking countries*			*Total*		
Linguistic quantitative IQ(ML & MQ)	*Socio-economic status*	*% leave before School Cert.*	*% after School Cert. but before HSC*	*% remain to HSC (a)*	*% leave before School Cert.*	*% after School Cert. but before HSC*	*% remain to HSC (a)*	*% leave before School Cert.*	*% after School Cert. but before HSC*	*% remain to HSC (a)*	*% leave before School Cert.*	*% after School Cert. but before HSC*	*% remain to HSC (a)*	*% leave before School Cert.*	*% after School Cert. but before HSC*	*% remain to HSC (a)*
Higher (107–135)	Higher (ANU status categories 1–8)	3	30	65	..	3	97	13	13	73	18	9	73	5	19	75
	Lower (ANU status categories 9–16)	9	27	63	1	16	81	7	33	53	..	10	90	5	22	72
Lower (70–106)	Higher	12	56	33	5	26	70	..	50	50	(c)	..	..	7	40	53
	Lower	25	55	15	2	39	55	9	73	18	(c)	..	..	7	44	48
Total higher IQ		6	29	64	1	12	85	10	23	65	10	10	81	5	20	73
Total lower IQ		19	56	23	2	37	57	10	60	30	14	29	57	8	44	46
	Total higher SES	7	41	52	3	16	81	9	26	65	14	7	79	6	29	65
	Total lower SES	15	37	46	2	31	64	8	50	39	7	21	71	6	34	57
Grand total	(N = 604)(b)	11	40	48	2	28	67	10	37	51	11	14	75	6	32	59

(a) The category 'undecided' has been omitted, hence the totals do not equal 100%.
(b) Approx. cell frequencies can be calculated from values given in Table 20, Appendix C.
(c) Where total is less than five, no percentages are shown.

Table 21B

PARENTS' ASPIRATIONS FOR THEIR CHILD'S HIGH SCHOOL EDUCATION BY LINGUISTIC AND QUANTITATIVE IQ (ML & MQ) AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS

Both parents born in selected non-English-speaking countries

		Parents' country of birth														
		Both Greek			*Both Italian*			*Both Lebanese*			*Both Maltese*			*Both Yugoslav*		
Linguistic & quantitative IQ (ML & MQ)	*Socio-economic status*	*% leave before School Cert.*	*% after School Cert. but before HSC*	*% remain to HSC(a)*	*% leave before School Cert.*	*% after School Cert. but before HSC*	*% remain to HSC(a)*	*% leave before School Cert.*	*% after School Cert. but before HSC*	*% remain to HSC(a)*	*% leave before School Cert.*	*% after School Cert. but before HSC*	*% remain to HSC(a)*	*% leave before School Cert.*	*% after School Cert. but before HSC*	*% remain to HSC(a)*
Higher (107–135)	Higher (ANU status categories 1–8)	..	..	(c)100+	..	..	100	..	..	100+				..	25+	75+
	Lower (ANU status categories 9–16)	..	..	100	7	7	79	..	..	100+	..	60	40	..	..	100
Lower (70–106)	Higher	..	20	80	..	20	80	..	..	100+	..	100+	..	..	..	100+
	Lower	5	16	79	..	46	55	4	27	58	..	80	20	4	35	54
Total higher IQ		..	..	100	5	5	85	..	..	100	..	60	40	..	7	93
Total lower IQ		3	17	79	..	41	59	4	25	61	..	81	19	4	32	57
	Total higher SES	..	17	83	..	9	91	..	..	100+	..	100+	..	..	17	83
	Total lower SES	3	10	86	3	31	64	3	23	63	..	75	25	3	24	68
Grand total(b)		2	12	85	2	26	70	3	21	68	..	76	24	2	23	70

(a) The category 'undecided' has been omitted, hence the totals do not equal 100%.
(b) Approx. cell frequencies can be calculated from values given in footnote (b), Table 20, Appendix C.
(c) + used where cell total is less than five.

Table 22A

STUDENTS' PERCEPTIONS OF MOTHER'S DISAPPOINTMENT IF STUDENT FAILS TO GAIN HIGHER SCHOOL CERTIFICATE (GRADE 10)

All students by parents' country of birth

Sample description	*N*	*Percentage of students whose mothers would be disappointed*
Total sample	2 570	45
Sex: Male	1 220	47
Female	1 350	44
Parents' country of birth:		
Both Australian	1 446	38
Both non-English-speaking countries	553	62
Another or different English-speaking countries	419	45
One parent English-speaking other non-English-speaking country	97	52

Table 22B

STUDENTS' PERCEPTIONS OF MOTHER'S DISAPPOINTMENT IF STUDENT FAILS TO GAIN HIGHER SCHOOL CERTIFICATE (GRADE 10)

Students with both parents born in non-English-speaking countries

Parents' country of birth	*N*	*Percentage of students whose mothers would be disappointed*
Both Greek	98	70
Both Italian	75	49
Both Lebanese	39	62
Both Maltese	29	41
Both Yugoslav	44	66
Another non-English-speaking country (both same)	202	62
Different non-English-speaking countries	66	71
Total NES	553	62

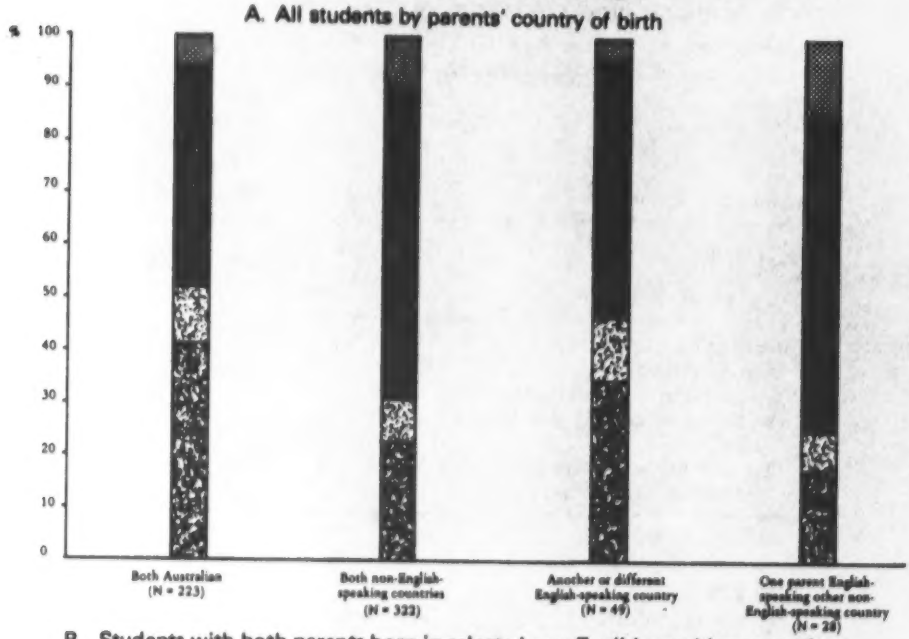
Influence of parents

In Grade 10 students were asked to write a few sentences on the influence that their mother and father had on their hopes about education and jobs. Each student's response was coded and the comments are summarised in Table 23. In general, the comments indicate that a number of parents wanted their children to have a secure and

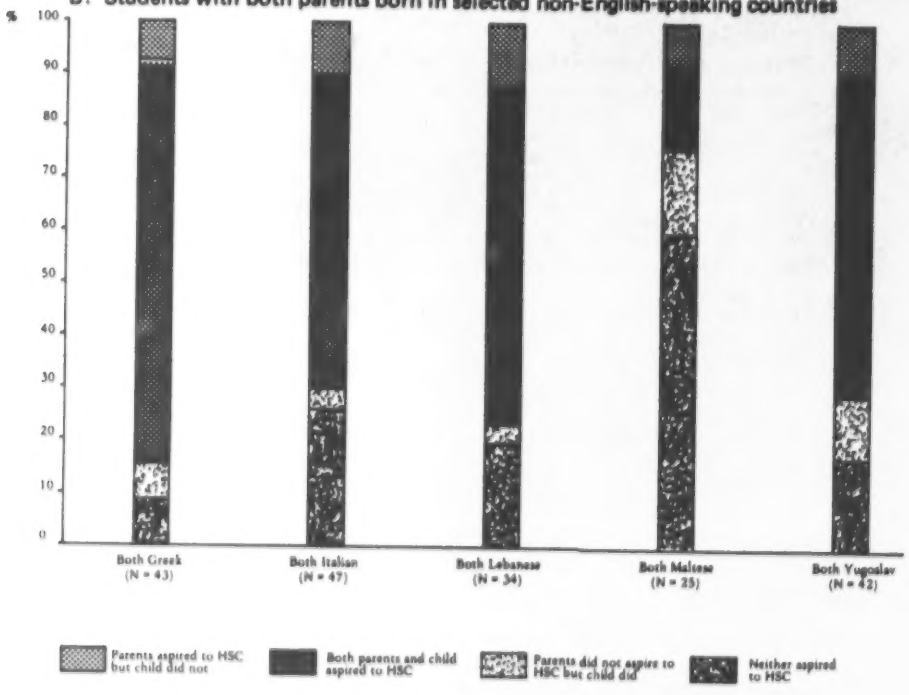
DIAGRAM 10

COINCIDENCE OF PARENTS' AND CHILD'S ASPIRATIONS FOR HIGHER SCHOOL CERTIFICATE

A. All students by parents' country of birth



B. Students with both parents born in selected non-English-speaking countries



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interesting job and encouraged them to stay at school and work hard. However, very few comments indicated that parents had helped students to obtain information about jobs.

Table 24 gives a summary of each student's response cross-tabulated by sex and parents' country of birth. A marginally higher proportion of girls than boys reported that their parents influenced their educational choice. There was some evidence that parents of NES migrant background exercise more influence on their children's hopes about education and jobs in comparison with the other groups. Only 2 per cent of parents according to students reject the value of education and encourage leaving school.

The following case studies for students with overseas-born parents portray many of the influences reported in the literature reviewed earlier in this chapter.

Amanda Carol

IQ = 133 (high); aspired to the HSC in Grade 9 and/or Grade 10; school accreditation—high HSC.

Amanda was born in the Christmas Islands and her parents were born in the United Kingdom. She was brought to Australia as a baby. Mr Carol is the refinery operator in an oil refinery. Mr and Mrs Carol have 2 children. In Grades 9 and 10 Amanda wanted to be a solicitor. By Grade 11 this was her second occupational choice, her first being a teacher of English.

When asked to write a few sentences on the influence that her father and mother had had on her hopes about education and jobs, she replied:

> My father and mother have been marvellous in helping me to explore other fields of employment. They encourage me to talk to people, investigate professions, jobs etc. and generally expand.

When asked whether other people had influenced her hopes about education and jobs, she replied:

> Not many other people have really; but one thing that really 'bugs' me, is that teachers at school seem to think the only way you can 'get along in the world', is to do the HSC. It almost makes you feel like leaving just to prove its possible.

Amanda indicated that she had sought information about the law course at Sydney University—but 'they sent out the wrong handbook'. She had also been to a careers advisory centre. She indicated that she thought the 'high school careers advisor' was 'hopeless'. It seems that Amanda is prepared to try to help herself as well as accept her parents' help.

Catherine Kaselakis

IQ = 117 (high); aspired to the HSC in Grade 9 and/or Grade 10; school accreditation—medium HSC.

Catherine was born in Australia and her parents were born in Greece. Mr Kaselakis is an upholsterer and his wife helps him. They have 2 children. In Grade 11 Catherine aspired to be a chemist or a children's doctor but she had previously aspired to be an architect.

When asked to write a few sentences on the influence that her father and mother had had on her hopes about education and jobs she wrote:

> My parents both want me to have a fine education before leaving school. Neither of them want me to work at a factory for as they so often say, they themselves only work for us in the hope that we, their children will become educated, and be respected in our lives, and not become second rate citizens, and even uneducated as they are.

However, it seems that Catherine is determined to decide on her job herself because, in reply to the question concerning the influence that others had had on her hopes about education and jobs, she wrote:

> No I don't think my mother or father or even anybody else has influenced me in my job. My parents both understand me well, and they know whatever I choose, I will not make a mistake.

Such assurance was not backed up by personal research in Grade 10, for Catherine had not made any inquiries about jobs or educational courses. However, in Grade 11 she indicated that she had received help from teachers and the high school careers adviser concerning jobs and education courses.

Anna Poppadopoulis

IQ = 116 (high); aspired to the HSC in Grade 9 and/or 10; school accreditation—medium HSC.

Anna and her parents were born in Greece. She arrived in Australia at the age of 7. Mr and Mrs Poppadopoulis are both factory workers. They have 3 girls. Anna aspired to be a primary school teacher in Grade 10 and in Grade 11, and felt certain about getting the education and job she hoped for.

When asked to write a few sentences on the influence that her father and mother had had on her hopes about education and jobs, she replied:

> My parents influence me greatly because they compare themselves with the ones who have good jobs. They tell me that if you have enough education you would have a good job and a high position, instead of suffering like they do working long hours and getting very tired. They couldn't get education because they came from a poor village and couldn't get educated even though they wanted to.

She also indicated that other people had influenced her hopes about education and jobs. She wrote:

> Many people have influenced me. People like my sister and friends. My sister keeps nagging at me to read all the time. If it wasn't for her nagging I would have been very *dum* [*sic*]. Friends have influenced me a lot because they are studying to be very high position in society and it makes me be *imbarrassed* [*sic*] to be a drop-out or work somewhere regarded as low e.g. factory.

Anna had already consulted a careers adviser on primary school teaching in Grade 10.

John Moretti

IQ=110 (medium); did not aspire to the HSC in Grades 9 and 10; school accreditation—medium SC and left school.

John was born in Australia and his parents were born in Italy. Mr Moretti is a tailor. Mr and Mrs Moretti have 3 children. John aspired to be a joiner and cabinet maker, or carpenter in both Grades 9 and 10. However, he left school at the end of Grade 10 and worked in a fruitshop. He indicated that he still hoped to get a job doing 'some sort of wood work'.

When asked to write a few sentences on the influence that his father and mother had had on his hopes about education and jobs, he replied:

> They have told me that I need to learn enough but at the same time not to go too far in education as to waste my time if I can get a good job.

When asked to write a few lines about why he left secondary school at the end of Grade 10, he wrote:

> Well firstly my parents wanted me to leave because they thought if I could get a good job, then it would be better to leave. I sort of felt the same way and was also getting a bit tired of school.

Abu Teugi

IQ=108 (medium); aspired to the HSC in Grades 9 and/or Grade 10; school accreditation—low SC and left school before getting HSC.

Abu and his parents were born in Turkey. He arrived in Australia at the age of 9. Mr and Mrs Teugi are factory workers. They have 3 children. The parent interview was conducted in Turkish and translated. In Grade 11 Abu aspired to 'be involved in economics' or to be a 'lawyer'. Prior to this he had not indicated any job preference and had made no inquiries concerning future educational courses or jobs. However, he always wanted to attend a university and indicated that he felt certain about getting the education he hoped for, unless 'sport could upset' his studies.

When asked to write a few sentences on the influence that his father and mother had had on his hopes about education and jobs, Abu replied:

> My parents have always encouraged me to study hard and go on further in school work as they didn't get the opportunities in their time they would very much like me to be successful.

He indicated that his sister had been helpful to him in providing information about courses and jobs, but that no one besides his parents had really influenced him.

Table 23

STUDENTS' COMMENTS IN RESPONSE TO THE QUESTION: 'PLEASE WRITE A FEW SENTENCES ON THE INFLUENCE THAT YOUR MOTHER AND FATHER HAVE HAD ON YOUR HOPES ABOUT EDUCATION AND JOBS'

(Number of students responding = 2788)

	Total sample (a)		*Male*		*Female*		*Both Australian*		*Both non-English-speaking countries*		*Another or different English-speaking countries*		*One parent English-speaking other non-English-speaking*	
Category	*NC (a)*	*%*	*NC*	*%*	*NC*	*%*	*NC*	*%*	*NC*	*%*	*NC*	*%*	*NC*	*%*
Jobs														
Parents have influence														
Student's selection of job has been influenced by: parents, parents' wishes	1 093	21	418	19	675	23	572	20	259	22	198	23	44	23
Parents help to develop: interests, skills, applicable to job	178	4	118	6	60	2	130	5	10	1	33	4	1	..
Parents encourage choice of a job with the possibility of advancement	119	2	56	3	63	2	56	2	38	3	17	2	6	3
Parents advocate financially secure job	98	2	54	3	44	2	43	2	31	3	19	2	3	1
Parents' own jobs influence student's job choice	46	1	25	1	21	1	27	1	5	..	10	1	2	..
Parents want children to be better off than themselves	44	1	16	1	28	1	16	1	21	2	4	..	3	1
Parents influence rejection of a particular job	39	1	19	1	20	1	20	1	10	1	5	1	3	1
Parents alone choose job irrespective of student's wishes or ability	31	1	17	1	14	1	15	1	9	1	7	1	..	..
Parents push student to earn money	29	1	22	1	7	..	19	1	3	..	6	1	..	..
Parents help in: obtaining information about jobs, making job applications	23	1	12	..	11	..	13	1	4	..	5	1	..	..
Subtotal	**1 700**	**(33)**	**757**	**(35)**	**943**	**(32)**	**911**	**(32)**	**390**	**(34)**	**304**	**(35)**	**62**	**(30)**

Table 23—continued

Category	Total sample (a)		Male		Female		Both Australian		Both non-English-speaking countries		Another or different English-speaking countries		One parent English-speaking other non-English-speaking	
	NC (a)	%	NC	%	NC	%	NC	%	NC	%	NC	%	NC	%
Parents have no influence														
Student alone makes job choice and parents: have no influence, show no interest	764	15	293	14	471	16	469	17	131	11	119	14	37	18
Education														
Parents exert push towards education														
Parents: encourage, show concern re education	555	11	210	10	345	12	268	10	150	13	103	12	21	10
Parents stress: staying on at school, further education (irrespective of student's ability)	388	8	146	7	242	8	178	6	129	11	54	6	17	8
Parents encourage: working, studying hard	169	3	92	4	77	3	96	3	36	3	26	3	8	4
Parents see education as a key to: job, success	143	3	64	3	79	3	72	3	42	4	23	3	5	2
Subtotal	1 255	(24)	512	(24)	743	(25)	614	(22)	357	(31)	286	(24)	51	(25)
Parents exert push away from education														
Parents: reject value of education, encourage leaving school, disappointed with school	55	1	21	1	34	1	25	1	14	1	11	1	3	1
Parents' financial situation could: hinder further education, necessitate part-time job	16	..	6	..	10	..	8	..	5	..	1	..	..	..
Subtotal	71	(1)	27	(1)	44	(2)	33	(1)	19	(2)	12	(1)	3	(1)
Parents have no influence on choice of education														
Student alone decides on further education and parents are disinterested	197	4	62	3	135	5	112	4	49	4	28	3	6	3

General influence														
Parents have influence														
Parents are: helpful, influence student's attitudes	424	8	187	9	237	8	243	9	83	7	78	9	16	8
Parents have no influence														
Parents: have no influence on student, are not interested in student's future plans	523	10	234	11	289	10	317	11	84	7	83	10	24	12
Parents do not push student	90	2	16	1	74	3	57	2	17	2	9	1	4	2
Subtotal	**613**	**(12)**	**250**	**(12)**	**363**	**(12)**	**374**	**(13)**	**101**	**(9)**	**92**	**(11)**	**28**	**(14)**
Irrelevant answers	123	2	72	3	51	2	67	2	26	2	22	3	3	1
Grand total	**5 147**	**100**	**2 160**	**100**	**2 987**	**100**	**2 823**	**100**	**1 156**	**100**	**861**	**100**	**296**	**100**

(*a*) NC = number of comments.

Table 24

PARENTS' INFLUENCE ON HOPES ABOUT EDUCATION AND JOBS

(N=2563) (*a*)

Students' perception of their parents' attitude as reported in their responses to the question: 'Please write a few sentences on the influence that your father and mother have had on your hopes about education and jobs'
All students by parents' country of birth

	Students who reported that their parents:									
	Influence job selection		*Do not influence job selection*		*Influence education choice*		*Reject value of education*		*Do not influence education choice*	
Sample description	*N*	%	*N*	%	*N*	%	*N*	%	*N*	%
Total sample	1 053	41	432	17	921	37	46	2	85	3
Sex: Male	502	42	170	14	403	34	18	2	30	3
Female	551	41	262	19	518	39	28	2	55	4
Parents' country of birth:										
Both Australian	560	39	266	19	465	34	24	2	56	4
Both non-English-speaking countries	245	44	79	14	246	45	12	2	14	3
Another or different English-speaking countries	185	44	57	13	153	37	7	2	13	3
One parent English-speaking other non-English-speaking country	36	35	23	22	35	37	..	..	..	..

(*a*) The total number who answered this question=2563, and the percentages are based on this number. However, some students mentioned more than one topic, so the sum of the percentages for any one group may exceed 100%. Some students made very general comments, and did not specify their parents' areas of influence. These have not been shown on this table.

Table 25A

STUDENTS' PERCEPTIONS OF TEACHER ENCOURAGEMENT TO STAY AT HIGH SCHOOL AFTER THE SCHOOL CERTIFICATE (GRADES 9 & 10)

All students by parents' country of birth

	Grade 9		*Grade 10*	
Sample description	*N*	*% teacher encouragement to stay after SC*	*N (a)*	*% teacher encouragement to stay after SC*
Total sample	2 835	25	2 486	30
Sex: Male	1 349	26	1 165	26
Female	1 486	24	1 321	34
Parents' country of birth:				
Both Australian	1 594	23	1 412	30
Both non-English-speaking countries	596	29	510	33
Another or different English-speaking countries	463	26	411	30
One parent English-speaking other non-English-speaking country	120	23	100	25

(*a*) The numbers in Grade 10 are slightly lower, because some students have left school.

Table 25B

STUDENTS' PERCEPTIONS OF TEACHER ENCOURAGEMENT TO STAY AT HIGH SCHOOL AFTER THE SCHOOL CERTIFICATE (GRADES 9 & 10)

Students with both parents in non-English-speaking countries

	Grade 9		*Grade 10*	
Parents' country of birth	*N*	*% teacher encouragement to stay after SC*	*N (a)*	*% teacher encouragement to stay after SC*
Both Greek	101	19	92	38
Both Italian	80	25	70	20
Both Lebanese	44	30	33	18
Both Maltese	33	30	25	24
Both Yugoslav	45	38	37	43
Another non-English-speaking country (both same)	217	33	188	34
Different non-English-speaking countries	76	30	65	42
Total NES	596	29	510	33

(*a*) The numbers in Grade 10 are slightly lower, because some students have left school.

Influence of teachers on educational aspirations

In Grades 9 and 10 we asked students to indicate whether teachers were encouraging them to stay at school after the SC. Students were able to tick one of three boxes: 'encouraging'; 'neither encouraging nor discouraging'; 'discouraging' further education. The proportions reporting 'encouraging' responses are shown in Table 25. The overall degree of perception of teacher encouragement was low with an increase for girls but not boys between Grades 9 and 10 as the time for decision to leave or stay at school drew closer. Slightly more students of NES migrant parent origin, in comparison, perceived teacher encouragement to stay at school. Some variations in the results occurred

among the ethnic subgroups. There was a *decrease* in the proportions of students who perceived teacher encouragement between Grades 9 and 10 for the Italian, Lebanese and Maltese students. Part of this drop could be due to a more accurate interpretation of teachers' cues, especially amongst the recently arrived Lebanese students, after a longer period of acculturation.

When the student perception of teacher encouragement results were cross-tabulated by IQ and SES, the overall trend shows IQ differences but almost no SES differences at the same IQ level (Table 26). However, there was some SES discrimination for the higher IQ children of NES and ES/NES origins, with the higher SES children perceiving slightly more teacher encouragement. A comparison of the results for Grades 9 and 10 reveal some interesting trends. However, some caution should be used in the interpretation of these trends as 2569 students answered the questionnaire in Grade 9 and 2262 in Grade 10. Overall, for the higher IQ students there was a marked increase in the proportion reporting teacher encouragement (28 per cent—Grade 9 to 41 per cent—Grade 10) while for the lower IQ groups a decrease occurred (20 per cent compared with 18 per cent).

The WNPD results for teachers' encouragement were:

(a) 9 per cent (Grade 9), 24 per cent (Grade 10) on the basis of students with higher versus lower IQ;
(b) 1 per cent (Grade 9), 2 per cent (Grade 10) on the basis of students from higher versus lower SES families; and
(c) 9 per cent (Grade 9), 11 per cent (Grade 10) on the basis of students of NES origin[16].

These findings demonstrate that teachers' encouragement depends, in part, on students' IQ and lends support to the institutional ideology which postulates that teachers encourage higher IQ students to aspire high and do well while more modest hopes are held for the lower IQ students. Teachers' encouragement was only very marginally influenced by SES. When the effects of IQ and SES were controlled, students of NES migrant origin possess an 'advantage' in terms of teachers' encouragement.

Influences of peers on educational aspirations

In Grade 9, students were asked to respond to the question, 'So that we can see if friends have similar plans for the future would you tell us the names of your two closest friends in Grade 9?' Both chooser and chosen were cross-tabulated by aspiration to continue at school after the SC (Table 27). The results, which are shown for three schools (chosen to represent the general trends observed in all schools) reveal a definite tendency for students to choose friends with similar desires to stay at or leave school in Grade 11. The tendency was even more pronounced when the cross-tabulation was undertaken by replacing the variable 'aspiration to continue at school after the SC' with the variable 'presence or not at school in Grade 11' (Table 28). Students were more than twice as likely to choose friends in their Grade 9 year who had similar Grade 11 school status (attending or not attending) as themselves than to choose friends with dissimilar Grade 11 school status.

In Grade 9, 'friends' attitudes to education' were estimated by asking students to indicate if each of four statements[17] applied to 'all', 'some' or 'none' of their friends (Table 29). The response was summed and the overall sample divided into 'high' versus 'low' to obtain as near as possible a fifty-fifty split. Using this basis, 38 per cent of all students'

16. The WNPD results by parents' country of birth for remaining groups were: –6 per cent (Grade 9), –5 per cent (Grade 10) (both Australian); 2 per cent (Grade 9), 0 per cent (Grade 10) (both overseas born in ES countries); and –1 per cent (Grade 9), –6 per cent (Grade 10) (ES/NES).

17. See Appendix B for details.

Table 26

STUDENTS' PERCEPTIONS OF TEACHER ENCOURAGEMENT TO STAY AT HIGH SCHOOL AFTER THE SCHOOL CERTIFICATE (GRADES 9 & 10) BY LINGUISTIC AND QUANTITATIVE IQ(ML & MQ) BY SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS

All students by parents' country of birth

		Parents' country of birth									
		Both Australian		*Both non-English-speaking countries*		*Another or different English-speaking countries*		*One parent English-speaking other non-English-speaking countries*		*Total*	
Linguistic and quantitative IQ(ML & MQ)	*Socio-economic status*	*% teacher encouragement to stay after SC*		*% teacher encouragement to stay after SC*		*% teacher encouragement to stay after SC*		*% teacher encouragement to stay after SC*		*% teacher encouragement to stay after SC*	
		Gr. 9	*Gr. 10*	*Gr. 9*	*Gr. 10*	*Gr. 9*	*Gr. 10*	*Gr. 9*	*Gr. 10*	*Gr. 9*	*Gr. 10*
Higher (107–135)	Higher (ANU status categories 1–8)	24	40	44	58	33	40	31	46	28	42
	Lower (ANU status categories 9–16)	26	39	35	50	29	36	27	25	28	40
Lower (70–106)	Higher	18	15	25	20	27	19	14	10	20	17
	Lower	19	14	24	22	18	24	19	13	21	18
Total higher IQ		25	40	38	53	31	38	29	35	28	41
Total lower IQ		18	14	24	22	21	23	18	13	20	18
	Total higher SES	22	32	34	39	31	33	26	36	25	33
	Total lower SES	23	29	27	32	24	31	22	19	24	30
Grand total (*a*)		22	30	29	34	27	32	24	26	25	31

(*a*) Total responses in Grade 9=2569, in Grade 10=2262 (not all students answered the question). Approximate cell frequencies can be calculated from values given in Tables 5A and 6.

Table 27

STUDENT CHOICE OF FRIENDS BY ASPIRATION FOR GRADE 11

	Chosen's aspiration for Gr. 11					
	Aspired to leave		*Aspired to stay*		*Total choices*	
Chooser's aspiration for Gr. 11	*N*	*%*	*N*	*%*	*N*	*%*
School 3 (Boys) (*a*)						
Aspired to leave	67	60	45	40	112	100
Aspired to stay	55	41	80	59	135	100
School 9 (Girls)						
Aspired to leave	63	54	53	46	116	100
Aspired to stay	47	31	105	69	152	100
School 14 (Co-ed)						
Aspired to leave	167	70	73	30	240	100
Aspired to stay	77	37	130	63	207	100

(*a*) The schools were chosen on the basis of the percentage of students returning in Grade 11. These schools were closest to the average in their particular classification.

Table 28

STUDENT CHOICE OF FRIENDS BY STATUS IN GRADE 11

	Status of chosen in Gr. 11					
	Not present in Gr. 11		*Present in Gr. 11*		*Total choices*	
Status of chooser for Gr. 11	*N*	*%*	*N*	*%*	*N*	*%*
School 3 (Boys) (*a*)						
Not present in Grade 11	101	70	43	30	144	100
Present in Grade 11	37	33	75	67	112	100
School 9 (Girls)						
Not present in Grade 11	85	62	53	38	138	100
Present in Grade 11	49	36	89	64	138	100
School 14 (Co-ed)						
Not present in Grade 11	219	79	57	21	276	100
Present in Grade 11	60	36	108	64	168	100

(*a*) See footnote (*a*) on Table 27.

friends were classified in the 'high' category in relation to exhibiting favourable attitudes towards education. Slightly more girls' than boys' friends exhibited pro-education values. A higher proportion (46 per cent) of the friends of NES origin students were rated in the 'high' attitude category in comparison with the children of overseas-born ES background parents (38 per cent), children with Australian-born parents (35 per cent) and the ES/NES group (33 per cent). Variations in the proportions rated 'high' occurred among the ethnic subgroups, ranging from 61 per cent for Greek children to 32 per cent for the Maltese.

Friends' attitudes to education varied markedly when the results were further cross-tabulated by IQ and SES (Table 30A). For the overall sample IQ differences were more marked than SES ones. The tendency for students of NES origin to choose friends with

Table 29A

FRIENDS' ATTITUDES TO EDUCATION

All students by parents' country of birth

Sample description	*Total number*	*Percentage students who indicated that their friends had 'high' (a) concern for education*
Total sample	2 976	38
Sex: Male	1 398	34
Female	1 578	41
Parents' country of birth:		
Both Australian	1 659	35
Both non-English-speaking countries	634	46
Another or different English-speaking countries	495	38
One parent English-speaking other non-English-speaking country	123	33

(a) 'Friends' attitude to education' was based on the student's ticked response to five statements. 'High' was the percentage calculated to show the best discrimination.

'high' educational aspirations in greater proportion than students from other backgrounds is maintained when comparisons are made on the basis of IQ, SES and both IQ and SES. The previous chapter showed that NES origin students also tend to choose friends with similar ethnic origins.

The WNPD results for friends' attitudes were:

(a) 17 per cent on the basis of higher versus lower IQ;
(b) 7 per cent on the basis of higher versus lower SES; and
(c) 15 per cent on the basis of NES origin.[18]

Both variables IQ and SES are shown to be independently related to friends' favourable attitudes to education and when the influences of these two variables are controlled it is clear that NES origin migrant children possess an 'advantage' when it comes to having friends with favourable attitudes to education.

Table 30B shows the results for friends' attitudes to education for each ethnic subgroup. Two points, in particular, are worth noting:

(a) There is virtually no SES influence in the case of Greek students.
(b) There is quite a marked SES influence for the Lebanese group (71 per cent higher SES compared with 31 per cent lower SES).

The WNPD results were:

(a) 19 per cent on the basis of higher versus lower IQ;
(b) 13 per cent on the basis of higher versus lower SES;
(c) 17 per cent on the basis of Greek origin;
(d) −1 per cent on the basis of Italian origin;
(e) −17 per cent on the basis of Lebanese origin; and
(f) −9 per cent on the basis of Yugoslav origin.

18. The WNPD results by parents' country of birth for remaining groups were:–10 per cent (both Australian); 1 per cent (both overseas born in ES countries); and–6 per cent (ES/NES).

Table 29B

FRIENDS' ATTITUDES TO EDUCATION

Students with both parents born in non-English-speaking countries

Parents' country of birth	*Total number*	*Percentage students who indicated that their friends had 'high' (a) concern for education*
Both Greek	108	61
Both Italian	85	51
Both Lebanese	47	40
Both Maltese	34	32
Both Yugoslav	50	46
Another non-English-speaking country (both same)	232	40
Different non-English-speaking countries	78	46
Total NES	634	46

(*a*) See footnote (*a*) on Table 29A.

Table 30A

FRIENDS' ATTITUDES TO EDUCATION BY LINGUISTIC AND QUANTITATIVE IQ (ML & MQ) BY SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS

All students by parents' country of birth

Linguistic & quantitative IQ (ML & MQ)	*Socio-economic status*	*Parents' country of birth*				
		Both Australian	*Both-non-English-speaking countries*	*Another or different English-speaking countries*	*One parent English-speaking other non-English-speaking country*	*Total*
		% High (a)	*% High*	*% High*	*% High*	*% High*
Higher (107–135)	Higher (ANU status categories 1–8)	47	62	55	50	50
	Lower (ANU status categories 9–16)	37	56	43	39	41
Lower (70–106)	Higher	29	44	28	..	31
	Lower	24	40	28	26	30
Total higher IQ		42	58	49	45	46
Total lower IQ		26	40	28	20	31
	Total higher SES	41	52	46	37	43
	Total lower SES	31	45	36	32	36
Grand total (N=2 740) (*b*)		36	46	40	34	38

(*a*) Percentage of students who reported that friends had a 'high' attitude towards education. See footnote (*a*) on Table 29A for details.

(*b*) Approximate cell frequencies can be calculated from values given in Table 5A.

The WNPD results for IQ and SES follow the same order as for the sample as a whole while the students of Greek origin are shown to possess an 'advantage' of 17 per cent in comparison with the combination of the other ethnic subgroups. The WNPD results of −17 per cent for the Lebanese subgroup, when considered in conjunction with Table 30B, point to a high within subgroup variance and the tendency for lower IQ lower SES Lebanese students to choose friends who were unlikely to hold favourable attitudes to education.

The main points emerging from these analyses are as follows:

(a) There is a tendency for students to choose friends with similar educational aspirations, IQs and ethnic origins (English-speaking compared with NES).

(b) There is a tendency for students with higher IQs to hold more favourable attitudes towards the value and importance of education compared with the lower IQ children.

(c) There is a tendency for children of NES migrant origin to hold more favourable attitudes towards the value and importance of education in comparison with children born in English-speaking countries.

(d) There is a sizeable within group variance among ethnic subgroups in relation to having friends who hold favourable attitudes to education ranging from Greeks, on the one hand, to Yugoslav, Lebanese and Maltese on the other.

These results reinforce the view that academic subcultures exist in schools. The NES origin migrant child is more likely to have friends who value education in comparison with a child of English-speaking origin and many of these friends will also be of NES migrant origin. The lower IQ child of English-speaking origin is most likely to have friends who tend not to value education and who have aspirations to leave school. In terms of the impact of peers on a child's aspirations these findings support the view that the presence of a high proportion of NES origin migrant children in a school or class is likely to have the effect of raising the level of aspirations of the school group generally.

Table 30B

FRIENDS' ATTITUDES TO EDUCATION BY LINGUISTIC AND QUANTITATIVE IQ (ML & MQ) BY SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS

Students with both parents born in selected non-English-speaking countries

Linguistic & quantitative (ML & MQ)	*Socio-economic status*	*Parents' country of birth*									
		Both Greek		*Both Italian*		*Both Lebanese*		*Both Maltese*		*Both Yugoslav*	
		% High (a)		*% High*		*% High*		*% High*		*% High*	
Higher (107–135)	Higher (ANU status categories 1–8)	100	+(c)	86		67	+	100	+	60	
	Lower (ANU status categories 9–16)	79		71		33		29		42	
Lower (70–106)	Higher	54		33		75	+	100	+	67	+
	Lower	55		43		31		37		43	
Total higher IQ		82		75		44		38		47	
Total lower IQ		55		42		36		40		46	
	Total higher SES	65		62		71		100	+	63	
	Total lower SES	64		52		31		35		43	
Grand total (*b*)		64		53		38		39		46	

(*a*) Percentage of students who reported that friends had a 'high' attitude towards education. See footnote (*a*) on Table 29A.

(*b*) Approximate cell frequencies can be calculated from values given in Table 5B.

(*c*) + used where cell total is less than five.

Reasons given for educational aspirations

Students were asked to rate the importance of possible reasons for their educational aspirations. The results for Grades 9 and 11 which are shown in Table 31 were divided into three categories: life chances, the intrinsic value of education and the influence of significant others. It should be noted that some of the students included in the Grade 9 analysis had aspired to leave school and that a more select group of school stayers responded in the Grade 11 questionnaire. Over 90 per cent of students indicated important reasons for their educational aspirations as follows: 'I think this is the way to be successful and get on in the world' and 'The course is necessary for the kind of job I want to do'. Identical proportions of boys and girls gave these responses and no major variation occurred when the results were cross-tabulated by parents' country of birth.

In Grade 9, 74 per cent of students gave as a reason: 'I enjoy learning'. Girls marginally favoured this response over boys. A greater proportion of the NES origin students gave this response in comparison to the remaining groups classified via parents' country of birth. Those who continued to Grade 11 were also more likely to give this response.

The wishes of parents ranked next in importance and girls marginally favoured this response over boys while students of NES migrant origin were moderately more likely to give this response. Approximately one-third of students indicated that teachers' encouragement was an important reason for their aspiration. Only 22 per cent of students in Grade 9 and 6 per cent in Grade 11 gave 'my friends are doing the same thing' as an important reason, which is in contrast to our findings in the previous section which showed that friends tend to either leave school together or remain on at school together.

Considered overall, these results highlight the overriding importance that students place on the instrumental function of schooling as a reason for their educational aspirations. This aspect takes precedence over the intrinsic enjoyment value of learning. There is a tendency for NES migrant students to place more importance on the intrinsic value of education than children from ES backgrounds. The tendency for NES migrant origin students to place more importance on parental wishes reinforces numerous other data in our study which point to the relative prominence of NES migrant parents in family decision making. There were no major differences in the results among the ethnic subgroups.

Other factors associated with educational aspiration

In Grades 9, 10 and 11 students were asked to respond to the question, 'What is the average number of hours you spend on homework outside school, each week?' and in Grade 10 we asked the question, 'How many hours altogether do you normally watch TV during each school week, that is from Monday to Friday, including Friday night?' Thus, while the first question applied to the whole week the question on TV was restricted to Monday to Friday. Hours of study provide an indirect measure of motivation. This measure is an approximation as there is no way of knowing how efficiently students used their study time, but it does give an indication of willingness to study. Forty-six per cent of students who aspired to the HSC in Grade 9 were found to be studying over six hours per week compared with only 25 per cent of those who aspired to leave school.

Fairly predictably, the hours of homework for the week increased as students moved from Grades 9 to 10 (Table 32). The more select group of students who remained at school to Grade 11 studied approximately 13 hours per week on the average. In the overall sample, girls tend to spend more hours studying than boys. Earlier Sydney studies by Connell et al. (1975) and Meade (1978) also demonstrated that girls spend more time studying than boys.

Table 31A

REASONS GIVEN FOR EDUCATIONAL ASPIRATION

All students by parents' country of birth

	Percentage of students who rated the following categories as 'important' or 'very important' reasons for their educational aspiration:													
	Life chances				*Intrinsic value*		*Influence of significant others*							
	Way to be successful		*Necessary for desired job*		*Enjoyment of learning*		*Mother wants it*		*Father wants it*		*Teachers have encouraged it*		*Friends doing same thing*	
Sample description	*Gr. 9*	*Gr. 11*	*Gr. 9*	*Gr. 11*	*Gr. 9*	*Gr. 11*	*Gr. 9*	*Gr. 11*	*Gr. 9*	*Gr. 11*	*Gr. 9*	*Gr. 11*	*Gr. 9*	*Gr. 11*
Total sample	90	91	90	97	74	86	60	50	58	49	33	36	22	6
Sex: Male	91	92	90	95	72	80	60	49	61	47	36	32	26	7
Female	90	90	90	98	76	90	58	52	55	50	30	39	19	5
Parents' country of birth:														
Both Australian	89	89	90	97	71	82	57	46	57	44	30	34	21	6
Both non-English-speaking countries	92	95	92	98	84	96	65	61	64	59	40	40	24	8
Another or different English-speaking countries	91	89	92	96	75	81	64	49	62	48	35	33	21	5
One parent English-speaking other non-English-speaking country	87	96	84	97	70	90	54	52	52	56	31	37	24	..

(*a*) See Table 2 for numbers in each ethnic group. Numbers in Grade 11 are lower due to those who have left school or transferred to other schools.

Table 31B

REASONS GIVEN FOR EDUCATIONAL ASPIRATION

Students with both parents born in non-English-speaking countries

	Percentage of students who rated the following categories as 'important' or 'very important' reasons for their educational aspiration:													
	Life chances				*Intrinsic value*		*Influence of significant others*							
	Way to be successful		*Necessary for desired job*		*Enjoyment of learning*		*Mother wants it*		*Father wants it*		*Teachers have encouraged it*		*Friends doing same thing*	
Parents' country of birth (a)	*Gr. 9*	*Gr.11*	*Gr. 9*	*Gr.11*	*Gr. 9*	*Gr.11*	*Gr. 9*	*Gr.11*	*Gr. 9*	*Gr.11*	*Gr. 9*	*Gr.11*	*Gr. 9*	*Gr.11*
Both Greek	93	96	91	97	87	100	62	60	57	55	33	42	24	10
Both Italian	90	97	93	97	82	97	61	61	65	61	36	51	29	5
Both Lebanese	89	93	98	100	91	93	65	67	63	67	47	13	44	6
Both Maltese	94	100	88	100	89	75	60	50	62	50	46	50	17	..
Both Yugoslav	98	90	92	95	84	95	67	72	63	58	36	40	25	15
Another non-English-speaking country (both same)	94	98	93	100	83	94	69	64	67	66	43	36	22	10
Different non-English-speaking countries	87	85	88	94	81	94	67	41	64	41	39	49	29	4
Total NES	92	95	92	98	84	96	65	61	64	59	40	40	24	8

(a) See footnote (a) on Table 31A.

Table 32A

MEAN HOURS OF HOME STUDY IN GRADES 9, 10 AND 11 AND MEAN HOURS OF TV PER SCHOOL WEEK IN GRADE 10

All students by parents' country of birth

	Hrs of home study in Gr. 9 (a)			*Hrs of home study in Gr. 10*			*Hrs of home study in Gr. 11*			*Hrs of TV from Mon. to Fri. in Gr. 10*		
Sample description	*Mean*	*SD*	*N*	*Mean*	*SD*	*N*	*Mean*	*SD*	*N*	*Mean*	*SD*	*N*
Total sample	5.3	4.8	2 812	6.3	5.2	2 561	12.8	7.1	1 099	15.9	11.0	2 558
Sex: Male	5.1	4.7	1 309	5.5	4.5	1 223	11.4	6.5	518	17.4	12.8	1 215
Female	5.5	4.9	1 503	7.0	5.8	1 338	14.0	7.5	581	14.5	9.0	1 343
Parents' country of birth:												
Both Australian	5.1	4.7	1 571	5.8	4.7	1 444	12.0	6.6	567	16.3	11.3	1 443
Both non-English-speaking countries	6.5	5.3	599	8.0	6.2	553	15.4	7.7	276	14.2	9.3	569
Another or different English-speaking countries	5.0	4.5	469	5.8	4.9	414	11.4	6.8	188	16.6	12.4	412
One parent English-speaking other non-English-speaking country	5.2	4.6	116	6.7	6.0	98	13.1	7.9	49	15.7	9.5	95

(a) Hours of home study were grouped in units of five hours. The mean of the units was multiplied by 5, then 2.5 was substracted to give the mean number of hours.

Table 32B

MEAN HOURS OF HOME STUDY IN GRADES 9, 10 AND 11 AND MEAN HOURS OF TV PER SCHOOL WEEK IN GRADE 10

Students with both parents born in non-English-speaking countries

	Hrs. of home study in Gr. 9			*Hrs. of home study in Gr. 10*			*Hrs. of home study in Gr. 11*			*Hrs. of TV from Mon. to Fri. in Gr. 10*		
Parents' country of birth	*Mean*	*SD*	*N*	*Mean*	*SD*	*N*	*Mean*	*SD*	*N*	*Mean*	*SD*	*N*
Both Greek	8.1(*a*)	6.6	103	8.9	6.8	100	15.7	6.8	65	12.9	8.3	97
Both Italian	5.5	4.4	81	7.9	6.5	75	17.2	8.4	38	11.9	6.7	75
Both Lebanese	6.6	5.6	43	8.0	4.8	38	15.2	8.0	15	16.9	10.0	40
Both Maltese	4.2	3.6	35	6.8	5.0	28	17.5	7.1	4	16.9	8.8	29
Both Yugoslav	7.2	5.9	44	7.8	5.6	45	13.0	8.4	20	13.9	7.2	44
Another non-English-speaking country (both same)	6.2	4.9	220	8.0	6.7	201	14.2	7.5	101	14.4	10.3	198
Different non-English-speaking countries	6.6	5.2	73	6.7	6.0	98	17.3	8.4	33	15.2	10.3	66

(*a*) See footnote (*a*) on Table 32A.

When the findings were cross-tabulated by parents' country of birth it was apparent that children of NES migrant origin studied longer hours in comparison with the remaining groups classified by parents' country of birth. There were also variations in the average hours studied per week among the ethnic subgroups. For example, in Grade 9 the average hours per week ranged from 8.1 (both parents born in Greece) and 7.2 (both parents born in Yugoslavia), on the one hand, to 5.5 (both parents born in Italy) and 4.2 (both parents born in Malta), on the other.

Hours of homestudy were further cross-tabulated by IQ and SES (Table 33A), and it was found that when groups of similar IQ similar SES, or similar IQ and SES are compared, those with parents of NES origin were consistently more likely to spend more hours per week on home study. In Grade 9 there was a tendency for the higher IQ higher SES groups to study more hours per week than the lower IQ lower SES groups. (For example, for the sample overall, 45 per cent of the former group studied 6 hours or more per week compared with 32 per cent of the latter). In Grade 11, after a disproportionate number of lower IQ lower SES students had left school, these trends were reversed, indicating that it is the hard-working lower IQ lower SES student who is more likely to stay on at school. (For example, in Grade 11, 55 per cent of the higher IQ higher SES students studied 11 hours per week or more compared with 64 per cent of those lower IQ lower SES students who were still at school.)

The WNPD results were:

(a) 13 per cent (Grade 9) and 5 per cent (Grade 11) on the basis of higher versus lower IQ;
(b) 5 per cent (Grade 9) and –7 per cent (Grade 11) on the basis of higher versus lower SES; and
(c) 19 per cent (Grade 9) and 17 per cent (Grade 11) on the basis of NES origin.[19]

The Grade 11 WNPD results for IQ and SES demonstrate that it is the hard-working lower IQ lower SES student who remain at school after Grade 10. These figures also show that a very real 'advantage' is experienced by NES origin migrant students because of their willingness to engage in home study.

Table 33B shows hours of home study cross-tabulated by IQ and SES for each ethnic subgroup. As with the total sample (Table 33A) in Grade 9 there was a tendency for students from higher IQ higher SES categories to study more hours per week than those in the lower IQ lower SES groups. In Grade 11, after a disproportionate number of lower IQ lower SES students had left school these trends were reversed.

The WNPD results were:

(a) 22 per cent (Grade 9) and –5 per cent (Grade 11) on the basis of IQ;
(b) 11 per cent (Grade 9) and –5 per cent (Grade 11) on the basis of SES;
(c) 19 per cent (Grade 9) and 12 per cent (Grade 11) on the basis of Greek origin;
(d) –18 per cent (Grade 9) and 5 per cent (Grade 11) on the basis of Italian origin;
(e) –1 per cent (Grade 9) and –12 per cent (Grade 11) on the basis of Lebanese origin; and
(f) –1 per cent (Grade 9) and –22 per cent (Grade 11) on the basis of Yugoslav origin.

Although the WNPD IQ and SES results for the NES group follow the same trends for the whole sample, their influence is much more pronounced. The Greek students retain an 'advantage' in terms of home study in both Grades 9 and 11. Those Italian students who stayed on to Grade 11 achieved the second highest WNPD rating. On the other hand, the Lebanese and particularly the Yugoslav students achieved very low WNPD ratings in Grade 11.

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19. The results by parents' country of birth for the remaining groups were: –10 per cent (Grade 9) and –7 per cent (Grade 11) (both Australian); –3 per cent (Grade 9) and –9 per cent (Grade 11) (both born in overseas ES countries) and –4 per cent (Grade 9) and –3 per cent (Grade 11) (ES/NES).

Table 33A

HOURS OF HOME STUDY PER WEEK BY LINGUISTIC AND QUANTITATIVE IQ (ML & MQ) BY SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS

All students by parents' country of birth

		Parents' country of birth														
		Both Australian			*Both non-English-speaking countries*			*Another or different English-speaking countries*			*One parent English-speaking other non-English-speaking country*			*Total*		
		% studying in			*% studying in*			*% studying in*			*% studying in*			*% studying in*		
Linguistic and quantitative IQ (ML & MQ)	*Socio-economic status*	*Gr. 9 6 hrs or more*	*Gr. 10 6 hrs or more*	*Gr. 11 11 hrs or more*	*Gr. 9 6 hrs or more*	*Gr. 10 6 hrs or more*	*Gr. 11 11 hrs or more*	*Gr. 9 6 hrs or more*	*Gr. 10 6 hrs or more*	*Gr. 11 11 hrs or more*	*Gr. 9 6 hrs or more*	*Gr. 10 6 hrs or more*	*Gr. 11 11 hrs or more*	*Gr. 9 6 hrs or more*	*Gr. 10 6 hrs or more*	*Gr. 11 11 hrs or more*
Higher (107–135)	Higher (ANU status categories 1–8)	44	52	52	60	73	70	43	56	55	42	57	60	45	55	55
	Lower (ANU status categories 9–16)	38	46	61	58	69	74	38	46	57	33	44	69	41	50	64
Lower IQ (70–106)	Higher SES	27	39	55	52	59	65	30	30	28	25	46	25	31	42	52
	Lower SES	24	36	56	43	59	73	30	36	48	34	50	38	32	45	64
Total higher IQ		41	49	56	59	70	73	40	50	56	38	51	64	43	52	60
Total lower IQ		25	38	56	44	59	71	30	34	40	32	49	33	32	44	59
	Total higher SES	38	48	53	56	66	68	39	47	49	38	54	54	40	50	55
	Total lower SES	32	42	60	48	62	74	34	42	55	34	47	58	37	48	64
Grand total (*a*)		34	44	56	49	63	72	36	44	52	36	50	56	38	49	59

(*a*) Total number responding in Grade 9 = 2555, Grade 10 = 2332, Grade 11 = 1026. The total cell frequencies can be calculated directly from the values reported in Tables 5, 6, and 7. However a few did not answer this question.

(*b*) Note that six or more hours of home study per week is classified high in Grades 9 and 10, but 11 or more hours home study is classified high in Grade 11.

Table 33B

HOURS OF HOME STUDY PER WEEK BY LINGUISTIC AND QUANTITATIVE IQ (ML & MQ) BY SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS

Students with both parents born in selected non-English-speaking countries

		Parents' country of birth														
		Both Greek			*Both Italian*			*Both Lebanese*			*Both Maltese*			*Both Yugoslav*		
		% studying in			*% studying in*			*% studying in*			*% studying in*			*% studying in*		
Linguistic and Quantitative IQ (ML & MQ)	*Socio-economic status*	*Gr. 9 6 hrs or more*	*Gr. 10 6 hrs or more*	*Gr. 11 11 hrs or more*	*Gr. 9 6 hrs or more*	*Gr. 10 6 hrs or more*	*Gr. 11 11 hrs or more*	*Gr. 9 6 hrs or more*	*Gr. 10 6 hrs or more*	*Gr. 11 11 hrs or more*	*Gr. 9 6 hrs or more*	*Gr. 10 6 hrs or more*	*Gr. 11 11 hrs or more*	*Gr. 9 6 hrs or more*	*Gr. 10 6 hrs or more*	*Gr. 11 11 hrs or more*
Higher (107–135)	Higher (ANU status categories 1–8)	100+ (*b*)	100+	100+	57	86	71	67+	100+	67+	100+	100+	..	100	50+	50+
	Lower (ANU status categories 9–16)	70	72	72	60	67	86	68	83	50+	17	83	100+	55	64	63
Lower (70–106)	Higher SES	58	46	86	33	67	75+	50+	50+	50+	100+	100+	..	67+	50+	..
	Lower SES	59	68	89	30	49	77	42	65	83	24	50	50+	40	68	67
Total higher IQ		74	76	74	59	71	81	67	89	57	29	86	100+	69	60	60
Total lower IQ		59	63	88	30	51	77	43	64	75	27	53	50+	43	67	60
	Total higher SES	69	59	89	46	77	73	57	80	60	100+	100+	33+	88	50	63
	Total lower SES	63	70	80	39	55	82	47	69	70	22	59	75	44	67	65
Grand total		64	68	82	40	59	79	49	71	67	28	63	75	52	64	60

(*a*) Note that six or more hours of home study per week is classified high in Grades 9 and 10, but 11 or more hours study is classified high in Grade 11.

(*b*) + used where cell total is less than five.

In the overall sample students spend approximately 16 hours on the average watching TV each school week (Table 32). On the average, girls watch less TV than boys. In contrast to the findings for homework the children of NES migrant origin watch fewer hours of TV per week on the average in comparison with the remaining groups classified by parents' country of birth. There were variations in the average hours of TV watched by children per school week among the ethnic subgroups, ranging from 17 hours per week for both the Lebanese and Maltese groups to 13 hours per week for Greek students and 12 hours per week for the Italians.

Further cross-tabulation of the results by IQ and SES (Table 34A) showed that when groups of similar IQ similar SES, or similar IQ and SES, are compared, those with two parents of NES origin were consistently more likely to spend fewer hours per school week watching TV. Overall, the lower IQ lower SES groups watch more TV than those from the higher IQ higher SES backgrounds. Other Australian studies have also shown that longer viewing hours are more characteristic of lower SES groups (Edgar, 1977) and lower intelligence (Sharman, 1979).

The WNPD results were:

(a) –8 per cent on the basis of higher versus lower IQ;
(b) –8 per cent on the basis of higher versus lower SES; and
(c) –13 per cent on the basis of NES origin.[20]

It is debatable whether watching TV is an 'advantage' or 'disadvantage' in relation to the educational experience. In the present study for the overall sample there was a

Table 34A

HOURS OF TV PER SCHOOL WEEK IN GRADE 10 BY LINGUISTIC AND QUANTITATIVE IQ (ML & MQ) BY SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS

All students by parents' country of birth

		Parents' country of birth				
Linguistic and quantitative IQ (ML & MQ)	*Socio-economic status*	*Both Australian*	*Both non-English-speaking countries*	*Another or different English-speaking countries*	*One parent English-speaking other non-English-speaking country*	*Total*
		% watching over 10 hrs TV from Mon. to Fri. in Gr. 10				
Higher IQ (107–135)	Higher (ANU status categories 1–8)	52	39	52	57	51 (*a*)
	Lower (ANU status categories 9–16)	64	48	62	61	60
Lower IQ (70–106)	Higher SES	59	56	64	82	60
	Lower SES	67	56	76	62	63
Total higher IQ		58	45	58	59	56
Total lower IQ		64	56	72	68	62
	Total higher SES	54	48	56	64	54
	Total lower SES	65	53	68	61	62
Grand total		60	52	63	62	59

(*a*) Approx. cell frequencies can be calculated from values given in Table 6.

20. The WNPD results by parents' country of birth for the remaining groups were: 5 per cent (both Australian); 6 per cent (both overseas born in ES countries) and 4 per cent (ES/NES).

correlation of –0.19 between 'hours of TV watched in Grade 10' and SC aggregate so an assumption was made that 'disadvantages' outweighed 'advantages'. The WNPD results for IQ and SES demonstrate a 'disadvantage' for the lower IQ and lower SES groups in terms of hours of TV watched, while NES origin students command an 'advantage' of –13 per cent on the TV variable when compared with the remainder of the sample.

Cross tabulations of the results by IQ and SES for each ethnic subgroup are shown in Table 34B. It is noted, in particular, that a higher proportion (74 per cent) of the lower IQ lower SES students of Lebanese origin watch in excess of 10 hours TV per week (Monday to Friday).

Table 34B

HOURS OF TV PER SCHOOL WEEK IN GRADE 10 BY LINGUISTIC AND QUANTITATIVE IQ (ML & MQ) BY SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS

Students with both parents born in selected non-English-speaking countries

		Parents' country of birth				
Linguistic & quantitative IQ (ML & MQ)	*Socio-economic status*	*Both Greek*	*Both Italian*	*Both Lebanese*	*Both Maltese*	*Both Yugoslav*
		% watching over 10 hrs TV from Mon. to Fri. in Gr. 10				
Higher (107–135)	Higher (ANU status categories 1–8)	25+ *(a)*	29	..	100+	50+
	Lower (ANU status categories 9–16)	41	43	67	50	64
Lower (70–106)	Higher SES	54	50	67+	100+	50+
	Lower SES	46	56	74	65	56
Total higher IQ		39	39	44	57	60
Total lower IQ		47	56	73	67	55
	Total higher SES	47	39	33	100+	50
	Total lower SES	44	52	72	61	58
Grand total		44	49	66	64	57

(a) + used where cell total is less than five.

The WNPD results were:

(a) –9 per cent on the basis of higher versus lower IQ;
(b) –8 per cent on the basis of higher versus lower SES;
(c) –12 per cent on the basis of Greek origin;
(d) –2 per cent on the basis of Italian origin;
(e) 17 per cent on the basis of Lebanese origin; and
(f) 7 per cent on the basis of Yugoslav origin.

The IQ and SES results follow similar trends to the whole sample. The 'disadvantage' of hours of TV watched for Lebanese students is reflected in the high WNPD result of 17 per cent.

POST-HIGH SCHOOL EDUCATIONAL ASPIRATIONS

Students' aspirations

The trends revealed in the analysis of HSC aspirations are also reflected in the analysis of post-HSC aspirations to a university or college of advanced education (CAE).

Overall, 21 per cent of students in Grade 9 aspired to university and 12 per cent to a CAE. Relatively fewer girls aspired to attend university and more aspired to attend a CAE in comparison with boys. There were 25 per cent of boys who aspired to university and 7 per cent who aspired to a CAE, whereas 18 per cent of girls aspired to a university

and 17 per cent aspired to a CAE.[21] A number of Australian studies[22] have documented the marked sex differences in aspirations to university level education.

In Grade 9, 41 per cent of the NES group and 40 per cent of the ES/NES group aspired to university or a CAE. Comparative figures for the overseas-born ES group and the Australian-born group were 33 per cent and 31 per cent respectively (Diagram 11).

The post-high school aspirations questionnaire was repeated for the more select group who remained at school until Grade 11 and, as expected, a higher proportion (70 per cent) of this group aspired to a university or CAE.

The percentages aspiring to university or a CAE were highest for the ES/NES group (78 per cent) compared with 72 per cent of the migrant children of ES origin, 69 per cent of the children with Australian-born parents and 68 per cent for the group with both parents born in NES countries.

Some variation occurred in the proportions in Grade 9 aspiring to university or a CAE among the ethnic subgroups. The Maltese group had the lowest proportion of students who aspired to university or a CAE (21 per cent) and the highest proportion who had no intention of attempting further study after school (24 per cent). Some minor variations also occurred among the proportions in Grade 11 aspiring to university or a CAE among the various ethnic subgroups.

When the post-high school educational aspirations were cross-tabulated by IQ and SES, several marked trends emerged (Table 35A). For example, for the total sample, 54 per cent of the higher IQ higher SES students aspired to a university or a CAE compared with 19 per cent of the lower IQ lower SES students. There was some variation based on SES in the proportions aspiring to a university or a CAE within the higher IQ group. A greater proportion of the higher IQ higher SES students (54 per cent) aspired to attend university or a CAE than those in the higher IQ lower SES group (42 per cent). A higher proportion of students with parents from NES countries aspired to university or CAE at each corresponding IQ and SES level in comparison with the other student groups.

To enable the WNPD to be calculated, students' post-high school educational aspirations were dichotomised into 'university or CAE' versus 'the rest'.

The results are as follows:

(a) 29 per cent on the basis of higher versus lower IQ;
(b) 12 per cent on the basis of higher versus lower SES; and
(c) 20 per cent on the basis of NES origin.[23]

The findings portray the marked 'advantage' in relation to post-secondary school aspirations experienced by higher IQ and higher SES students. When the influence of these variables is controlled, children of NES origin are also 'advantaged' in comparison with the remainder of the sample.

Cross-tabulations of post-high school educational aspirations by IQ and SES for each ethnic subgroup are shown in Table 35B. IQ had a marked effect on aspirations for each subgroup but the effect of SES is inconsistent, indicating an interaction between ethnic origin and SES, e.g. in the case of students of Greek origin 50 per cent of lower SES students aspired to attend either a university or CAE compared with 38 per cent of the higher SES students.

The WNPD results were:

(a) 38 per cent on the basis of IQ;
(b) 3 per cent on the basis of SES;
(c) 11 per cent on the basis of Greek origin;
(d) –13 per cent on the basis of Italian origin;

21. See Table 36A, Appendix F.
22. See Meade, 1978; Parker, 1976; Poole and Simkin, 1978 and Pryor and Hawkins, 1975.
23. The WNPD results by parents' country of birth for remaining groups were: –11 per cent (both Australian); –4 per cent (both overseas born in ES countries) and 7 per cent (ES/NES).

DIAGRAM 11

STUDENT ASPIRATION FOR POST HIGH SCHOOL EDUCATION

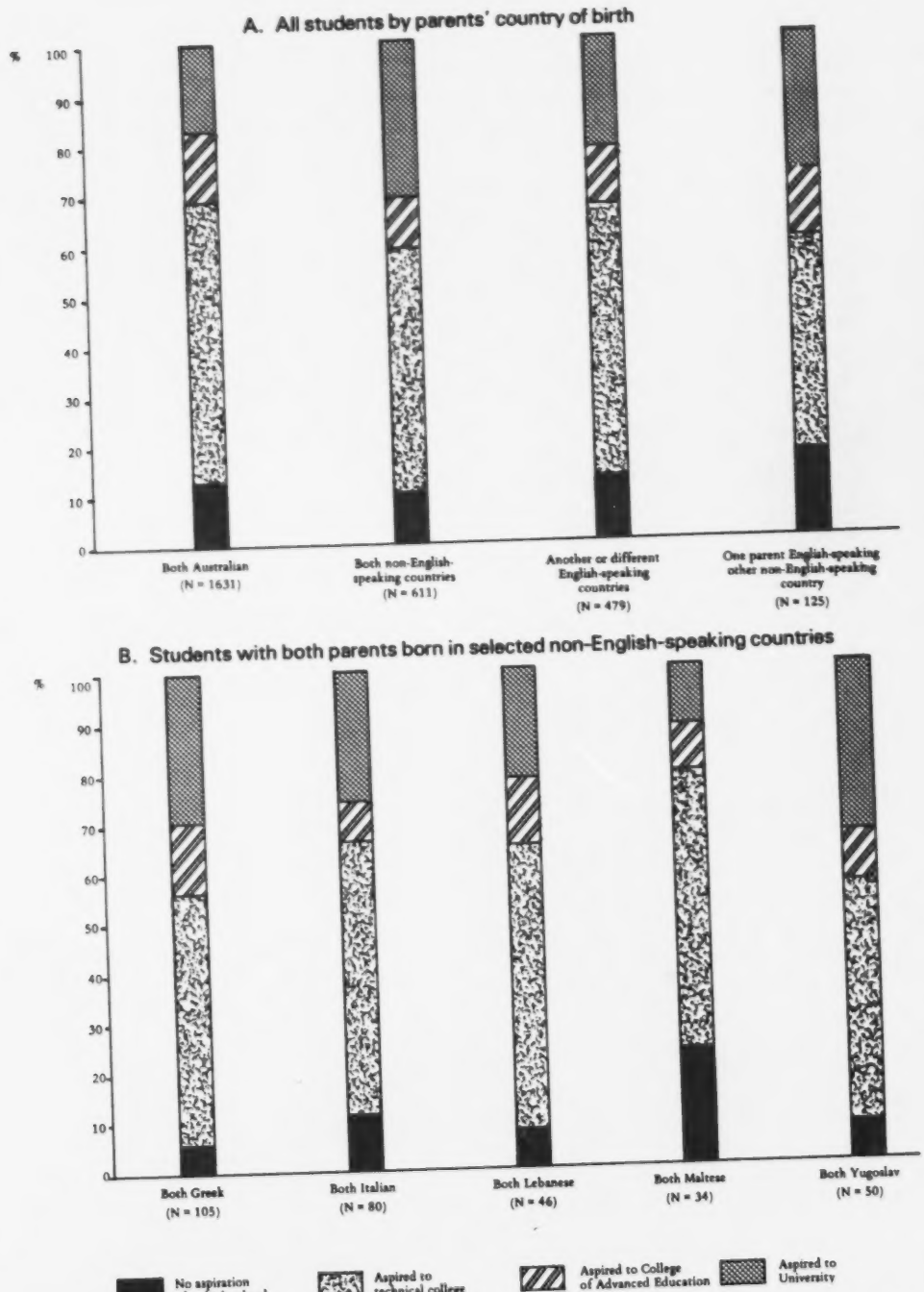

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Table 35A

STUDENTS' GRADE 9 ASPIRATIONS FOR POST-HIGH SCHOOL EDUCATION BY LINGUISTIC AND QUANTITATIVE IQ (ML & MQ) BY SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS

All students by parents' country of birth

		Parents' country of birth																			
		Both Australian				*Both non-English-speaking countries*				*Another or different English-speaking countries*				*One parent English-speaking other non-English-speaking country*				*Total*			
		Percentages aspiring to:				*Percentages aspiring to:*				*Percentages aspiring to:*				*Percentages aspiring to:*							
Linguistic and quantitative IQ (ML & MQ)	*Socio-economic status*	*HS (a)*	*TC (b)*	*CAE (c)*	*UNI (d)*	*HS*	*TC*	*CAE*	*UNI*	*HS*	*TC*	*CAE*	*UNI*	*HS*	*TC*	*CAE*	*UNI*	*HS*	*TC*	*CAE*	*UNI*
Higher (107–135)	Higher (ANU status categories 1–8)	9	39	20	32	2	20	11	67	8	41	20	32	12	35	21	32	8	38	19	35
	Lower (ANU status categories 9–16)	9	53	16	22	5	37	12	46	8	54	9	30	6	42	16	36	8	50	14	28
Lower (70–106)	Higher	14	66	11	8	19	44	13	24	16	59	11	14	27	33	13	27	16	60	12	13
	Lower	20	69	7	4	11	59	8	21	18	68	6	8	24	51	5	19	17	65	7	12
Total higher IQ		9	47	18	27	4	32	12	52	8	48	14	31	9	39	19	34	8	44	16	31
Total lower IQ		18	68	9	6	12	57	9	22	17	65	8	10	25	46	13	21	16	63	9	12
	Total higher SES	11	49	17	23	11	33	12	44	11	47	17	26	16	35	18	31	11	46	16	27
	Total lower SES	14	61	12	14	9	52	9	29	13	60	8	20	16	47	10	27	13	58	11	19
Grand total	(N=2631)(e)	13	55	14	18	10	48	10	32	12	55	11	22	16	42	14	28	12	53	13	22

(*a*) No more study after High School.
(*b*) Technical College.
(*c*) College of Advanced Education.
(*d*) University.
(*e*) Approx. cell frequencies can be calculated from values given in Table 5.

(e) 2 per cent on the basis of Lebanese origin; and
(f) 1 per cent on the basis of Yugoslav origin.

The findings demonstrate the low influence of SES (3 per cent) for the NES group compared with the influence of SES (12 per cent) for the sample as a whole and also demonstrate the relative 'advantage' experienced by students of Greek origin and the relative 'disadvantage' of Italian origin students in regard to post-high school educational aspirations.

Parents' aspirations

Overall, 38 per cent of parents aspired for their child to attend a university or CAE.[24] Thirty-seven per cent of boys' parents and 38 per cent of girls' parents held these aspirations. However, the percentage wanting university attendance for boys (34 per cent) was higher than for girls (29 per cent). The percentage of ES/NES and NES origin parents wanting their child to attend a university or CAE was higher than for the overseas-born parents from ES countries and the Australian-born parents (50 per cent and 44 per cent compared with 39 per cent and 25 per cent) (Diagram 12). Variations in the proportions of parents with aspirations for tertiary education occurred among the ethnic subgroups. The results follow similar trends to those for aspirations to the HSC discussed previously. For example, 51 per cent of the Greek parents had aspirations to a university or CAE for their child, compared with 9 per cent of the Maltese parents. On the other hand, a high proportion of the Maltese and Italian parents hoped that their child would attend a technical college.

Parents' aspirations for their child's post-high school education were cross-tabulated by IQ and SES (Table 36A). In the overall sample the IQ effect is more pronounced than that of SES but both exert an influence. For example, 53 per cent of the higher SES parents with higher IQ children aspired for their child to attend a university or CAE, compared with 24 per cent of the lower SES parents with lower IQ children. The percentage of NES parents and ES/NES parents desiring university or CAE education for their child was markedly higher than for the overseas-born ES parents and the Australian-born parents in each corresponding IQ and SES level. The influence of the SES variable on aspirations was most marked for the NES and overseas-born ES parental groups. The proportion of lower SES Australian-born parents (27 per cent) who desired university or CAE education for their children was marginally higher than the proportion for the higher SES group (25 per cent).

The WNPD results were calculated using the same strategy as that described for the student aspiration table and the results are as follows:

(a) 26 per cent on the basis of parents of children with higher versus lower IQ;
(b) 13 per cent on the basis of parents with higher versus lower SES; and
(c) 25 per cent on the basis of parents with NES origin.[25]

These findings parallel those previously discussed for students.

Table 36B shows the cross-tabulation of parents' aspirations for their child's post-high school education by IQ and SES for each ethnic subgroup. As with the parallel student aspiration cross-tabulation (Table 35B), interaction occurred between SES and ethnic origin, e.g. 60 per cent of the lower SES Greek parents desired university or CAE attendance for their child compared with 38 per cent of the higher SES parents, whereas the equivalent figures for Italian parents were 26 per cent and 67 per cent.

The WNPD results were:

(a) 34 per cent on the basis of parents of children with higher versus lower IQ;
(b) 30 per cent on the basis of parents with higher versus lower SES;

24. See Table 37, Appendix F.
25. The WNPD results by parents' country of birth for the remaining groups were: –25 per cent (both Australian); –6 per cent (both overseas born in ES countries) and 7 per cent (ES/NES).

Table 35B

STUDENTS' GRADE 9 ASPIRATIONS FOR POST-HIGH SCHOOL EDUCATION BY LINGUISTIC AND QUANTITATIVE IQ (ML & MQ) BY SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS

Students with both parents born in selected non-English-speaking countries

Linguistic and quantitative IQ (ML & MQ)	*Socio-economic status*	*Parents' country of birth*																			
		Both Greek				*Both Italian*				*Both Lebanese*				*Both Maltese*				*Both Yugoslav*			
		Percentages aspiring to:				*Percentages aspiring to:*				*Percentages aspiring to:*				*Percentages aspiring to:*				*Percentages aspiring to:*			
		HS(a)	*TC(b)*	*CAE(c)*	*UNI(d)*	*HS*	*TC*	*CAE*	*UNI*	*HS*	*TC*	*CAE*	*UNI*	*HS*	*TC*	*CAE*	*UNI*	*HS*	*TC*	*CAE*	*UNI*
Higher IQ (107–135)	Higher (ANU status categories 1–8)	..	..	25+	(f) 75+	..	14	29	57	..	33+	33+	33+	..	..	..	100+	..	60	20	20
	Lower (ANU status categories 9–16)	..	29	21	50	5	40	5	50	17	17	33	33	33	33	17	17	..	33	8	58
Lower IQ (70–106)	Higher	17	67	8	8	14	57	29	..	33+	33+	..	33+	..	..	..	100+	..	67+	..	33+
	Lower	4	58	13	25	16	67	2	14	7	61	11	21	25	60	10	5	14	52	10	24
Total higher IQ		..	25	22	53	4	33	11	52	11	22	33	33	29	29	14	29	..	41	12	47
Total lower IQ		7	60	12	22	16	66	6	12	10	58	10	23	24	57	10	10	13	53	9	25
	Total higher SES	13	50	13	25	7	36	29	29	17	33	17	33	..	..	..	100+	..	63	13	25
	Total lower SES	3	47	16	34	13	59	3	25	9	53	15	24	27	54	12	8	10	46	10	34
Grand total (e)		4	48	15	33	12	55	8	26	10	50	15	25	25	50	11	14	8	49	10	33

(a) No more study after High School.
(b) Technical College.
(c) College of Advanced Education.
(d) University.
(e) Approx. cell frequencies can be calculated from values given in Table 5B.
(f) + used where cell total is less than five.

DIAGRAM 12
PARENTS' ASPIRATIONS FOR THEIR CHILD'S POST HIGH SCHOOL EDUCATION

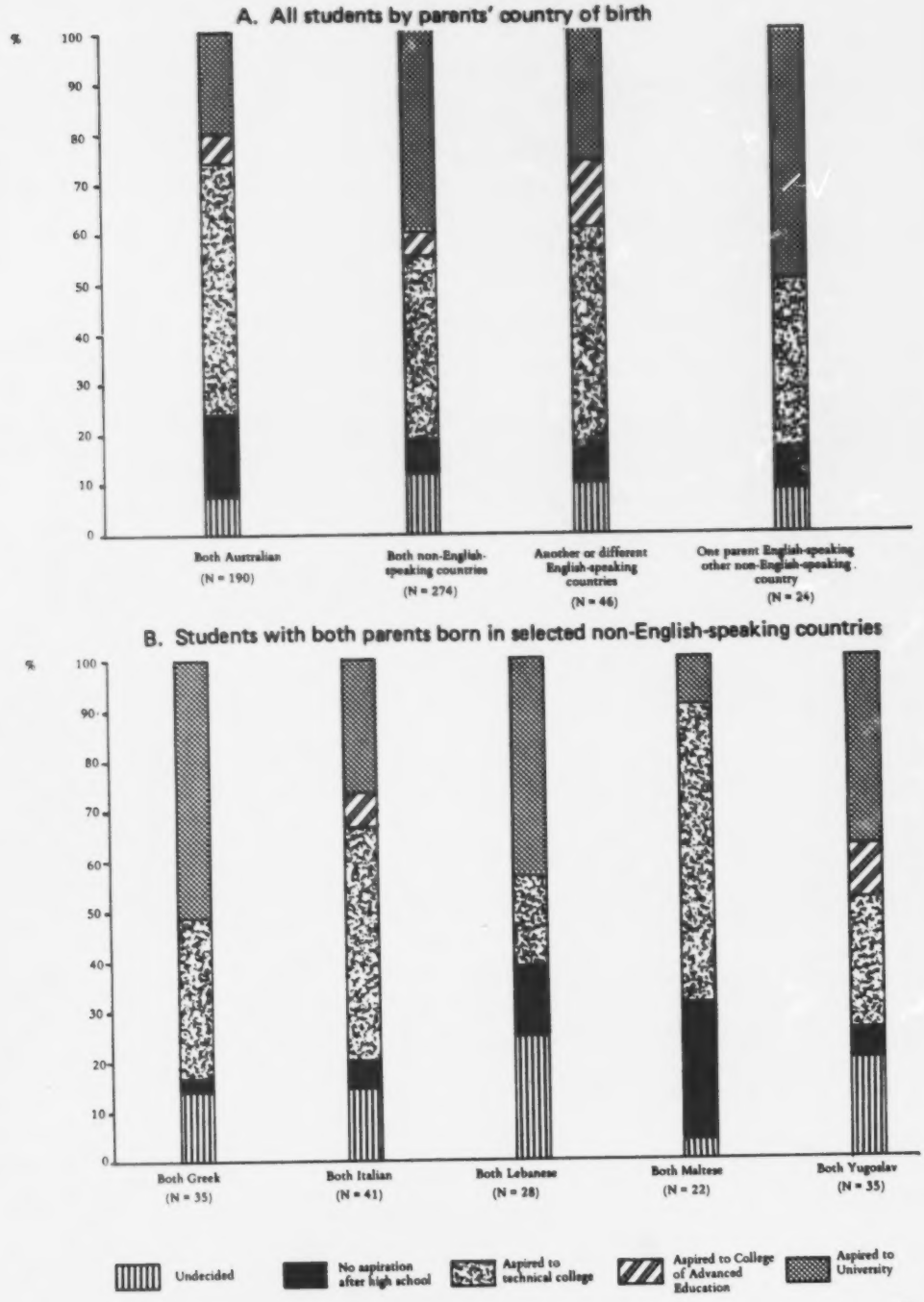

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Table 36A

PARENTS' ASPIRATIONS FOR THEIR CHILD'S POST-HIGH SCHOOL EDUCATION BY LINGUISTIC AND QUANTITATIVE IQ (ML & MQ) AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS

By parents' country of birth

		Parents' country of birth														
		Both Australian			*Both non-English-speaking countries*			*Another or different English-speaking countries*			*One parent English-speaking other non-English-speaking country*			*Total*		
Linguistic and quantitative IQ (ML & MQ)	*Socio-economic status*	*% no further educ. after HS*	*% Tech. college*	*% Univ. or CAE (a)*	*% no further educ. after HS*	*% Tech. college*	*% Univ. or CAE*	*% no further educ. after HS*	*% Tech. college*	*% Univ. or CAE*	*% no further educ. after HS*	*% Tech. college*	*% Univ. or CAE*	*% no further educ. after HS*	*% Tech. college*	*% Univ. or CAE*
Higher (107–135)	Higher (ANU status categories 1–8)	20	39	33	..	4	85	14	29	57	10	30	50	10	27	53
	Lower (ANU status categories 9–16)	13	38	37	4	29	56	21	36	43	14	14	71	8	33	48
Lower (70–106)	Higher	16	63	16	6	38	50	17	50	33	(c)	..	..	11	51	32
	Lower	15	68	9	9	47	30	10	80	10	(c)	..	..	10	53	24
Total higher IQ		16	39	34	3	21	64	..	31	52	12	24	59	9	30	50
Total lower IQ		18	63	13	9	46	32	18	65	18	..	57	29	12	53	26
	Total higher SES	18	50	25	3	23	66	5	35	50	7	31	46	11	38	43
	Total lower SES	14	49	27	7	41	39	4	54	29	9	36	55	9	44	35
Grand total (N = 507) (b)		17	49	25	7	37	44	7	44	39	8	33	50	10	42	37

(a) The category 'undecided' has been omitted hence totals do not equal 100%.
(b) Approx. cell frequencies can be calculated from values given in Table 20, Appendix C.
(c) Where total is less than five, no percentages are shown.

Table 36B

PARENTS' ASPIRATIONS FOR THEIR CHILD'S POST-HIGH SCHOOL EDUCATION BY LINGUISTIC AND QUANTITATIVE IQ (ML & MQ) AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS

By parents' country of birth

		Parents' country of birth														
		Both Australian			*Both non-English-speaking countries*			*Another or different English-speaking countries*			*One parent English-speaking other non-English-speaking country*			*Total*		
Linguistic and quantitative IQ (ML & MQ)	*Socio-economic status*	*% no further educ. after HS*	*% Tech. college*	*% Univ. or CAE (a)*	*% no further educ. after HS*	*% Tech. college*	*% Univ. or CAE*	*% no further educ. after HS*	*% Tech. college*	*% Univ. or CAE*	*% no further educ. after HS*	*% Tech. college*	*% Univ. or CAE*	*% no further educ. after HS*	*% Tech. college*	*% Univ. or CAE*
Higher (107–135)	Higher (ANU status categories 1–8)	20	39	33	..	4	85	14	29	57	10	30	50	10	27	53
	Lower (ANU status categories 9–16)	13	38	37	4	29	56	21	36	43	14	14	71	8	33	48
Lower (70–106)	Higher	16	63	16	6	38	50	17	50	33	(*c*)	..	..	11	51	32
	Lower	15	68	9	9	47	30	10	80	10	(*c*)	..	..	10	53	24
Total higher IQ		16	39	34	3	21	64	..	31	52	12	24	59	9	30	50
Total lower IQ		18	63	13	9	46	32	18	65	18	..	57	29	12	53	26
	Total higher SES	18	50	25	3	23	66	5	35	50	7	31	46	11	38	43
	Total lower SES	14	49	27	7	41	39	4	54	29	9	36	55	9	44	35
Grand total (N = 507) (*b*)		17	49	25	7	37	44	7	44	39	8	33	50	10	42	37

(*a*) The category 'undecided' has been omitted hence totals do not equal 100%.
(*b*) Approx. cell frequencies can be calculated from values given in Table 21, Appendix C.
(*c*) Where total is less than five, no percentages are shown.

(c) 16 per cent on the basis of Greek origin;
(d) –23 per cent on the basis of Italian origin;
(e) 9 per cent on the basis of Lebanese origin; and
(f) 10 per cent on the basis of Yugoslav origin.

The findings parallel those described previously for students with one exception. For parents, the WNPD result for SES was 30 per cent compared with a figure of 3 per cent for students. (The result for parents may be somewhat inflated by a disproportionate influence based on the small numbers involved in the upper SES Lebanese and Yugoslav groups.)[26] One explanation of these findings sees lower SES/NES origin children overcoming any dampening influence on aspirations which can occur in lower SES homes.

The cross-tabulations of parents' aspirations by SES (Tables 36A and B) enable a rough comparison to be made with Marjoribanks' (1980) Adelaide results. Marjoribanks reported that the following proportions of lower SES parents aspired for their 11-year-old child to receive a university education:

(a) 70 per cent of parents of Greek origin;
(b) 46 per cent of parents of Southern Italian origin;
(c) 36 per cent of parents of Yugoslav origin;
(d) 30 per cent of parents of English origin; and
(e) 24 per cent of Anglo-Australian parents.

Corresponding figures for university *or CAE* education for lower SES parents of 15-year-old children in the present investigation were:

(a) 60 per cent of parents of Greek origin;
(b) 26 per cent of parents of Italian origin;
(c) 43 per cent of parents of Yugoslav origin;
(d) 29 per cent of overseas-born ES origin (mainly English) parents; and
(e) 27 per cent of parents of Australian origin.

The questions asked were somewhat different in the two studies but with the exception of the Italian group (where Sydney aspirations were lower) relative aspiration trends by ethnic group were fairly consistent.

An analysis of the coincidence of parents' and child's aspirations for university or CAE revealed that overall approximately 80 per cent of parents agreed with their child's aspirations for or against education after high school.[27] In 26 per cent of cases both parents and child aspired to a university or CAE. The degree of coincidence for university or CAE attendance was slightly higher for girls and their parents (29 per cent) than for boys and their parents (23 per cent). There were 36 per cent of the ES/NES group, 32 per cent of the NES group, 30 per cent of the overseas-born group from ES countries and only 16 per cent of the Australian group where both parents and child aspired to go on (Diagram 13).

There were 16 per cent of parents who aspired to a university or CAE without corresponding student aspirations—17 per cent of boys and 14 per cent of girls made up this group. The lack of coincidence resulting from high aspiring parents was higher for the parents with NES and ES/NES backgrounds compared with the overseas-born parents from ES countries and the Australian-born parents (19 per cent and 18 per cent compared with 13 per cent and 12 per cent). When the results are examined for the NES origin ethnic subgroups it is apparent that the highest degree of lack of coincidence in parents' and child's aspirations occurred in the Lebanese (29 per cent), another NES country (both same) (23 per cent) and Greek (20 per cent) parental groups. In 43 per cent of the Yugoslav and 40 per cent of the Greek families both parents and child aspired to a university or CAE.

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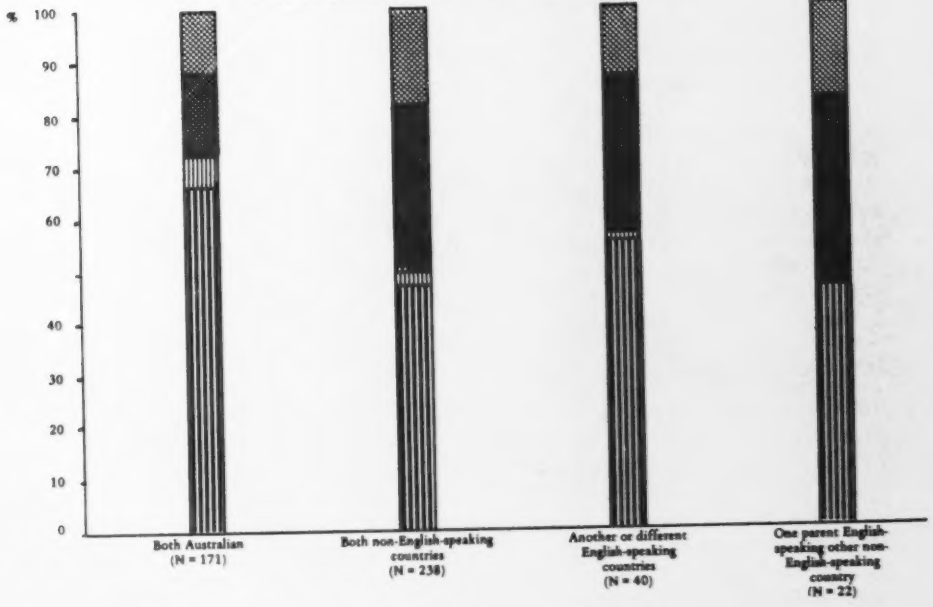
26. In the case of the Lebanese and Yugoslav groups, numbers in the higher SES category were less than 5 in each case. However, the impact of these two small groups had a disproportionate inflationary influence on WNPD result for SES.

27. See Table 35, Appendix F.

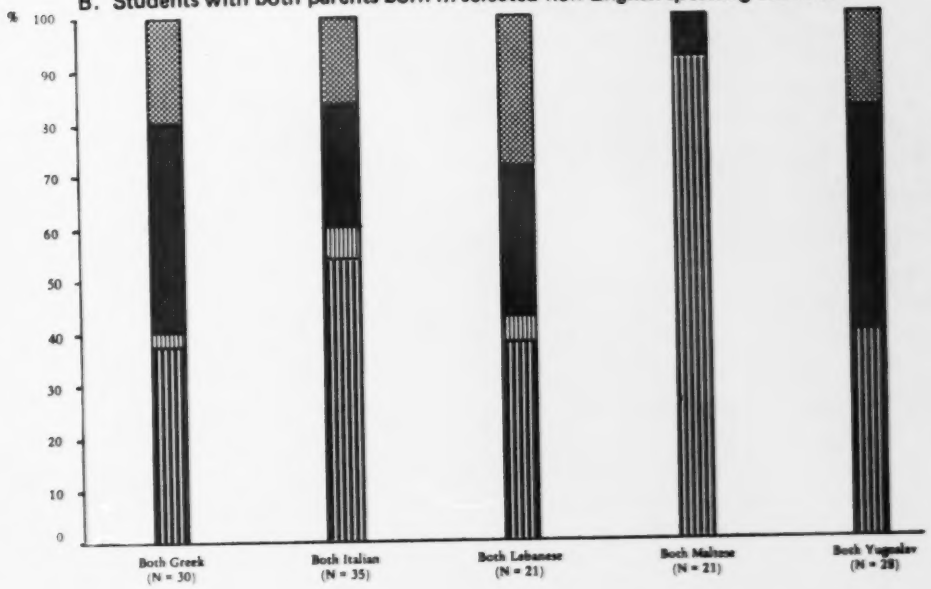
DIAGRAM 13

COINCIDENCE OF PARENTS' AND CHILD'S ASPIRATIONS FOR UNIVERSITY OR COLLEGE OF ADVANCED EDUCATION

A. All students by parents' country of birth



B. Students with both parents born in selected non-English-speaking countries



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Influence of parents

The select group of students who remained at school after the SC were asked to indicate if their father and mother were encouraging them to undertake an education course at a university after they left school.[28] They were also asked if their father and mother were encouraging them to attend a non-university tertiary course (e.g. teachers college or CAE). The questions were not mutually exclusive e.g. it was possible for students to respond in the affirmative for each question. Proportionally more boys than girls perceived parental encouragement for university education and the percentage difference was greater for 'mothers' than 'fathers'. A relatively high proportion of students of NES origin perceived that their parents were encouraging them to attend a university education course (59 per cent fathers, 55 per cent mothers); the comparative figures for Australian-born parents were 38 per cent and 40 per cent respectively. Variations occurred in the proportions of parents who encouraged university attendance among the ethnic subgroups. Seventy-five per cent of the Lebanese students reported that their fathers and mothers were encouraging university attendance whereas the Italian students indicated 42 per cent of their fathers and 26 per cent of their mothers encouraged university attendance.

Influence of teachers

The select group of students who remained at school after the SC were asked whether 'teachers' were encouraging them to attend tertiary education courses.[29] Overall, 22 per cent of students indicated that teachers were encouraging them to attend a university course and 13 per cent indicated that teachers were encouraging them to attend a non-university tertiary course, such as at a CAE. The percentage of students who indicated that teachers were encouraging them to attend a university course within each of the groups was: 28 per cent (both overseas-born ES parents), 22 per cent (both Australian-born parents), 18 per cent (both NES origin parents) and 13 per cent (ES/NES). It is recalled that a higher proportion of the NES group stayed on at school which no doubt influenced the result. Comparative figures for teacher encouragement to a non-university course were 17 per cent, 14 per cent, 10 per cent and 16 per cent respectively.

In the overall sample, 25 per cent of the higher IQ students indicated that teachers had encouraged university attendance compared with 12 per cent of the lower IQ group. Comparative figures for a non-university tertiary course were 14 per cent and 11 per cent. These results further support the proposition that teachers encourage higher IQ students to aspire high and do well while more modest hopes are held for lower IQ students.

Influence of peers

In the previous section there was discussion on the tendency for students to choose friends with similar desires regarding staying or leaving school in Grade 11. A similar tendency occurred in relation to aspirations for tertiary education. The results for three schools selected to represent the findings for all schools are shown in Table 37.

Occupational aspirations

In Grade 9, students were asked what their occupational aspirations were. Provision was made on the questionnaire for two choices but the occupational aspiration status of the first choice only was recorded.[30] A number of students did not respond to the question or gave vague responses and they were excluded from the occupational aspiration status analysis. Overall, 29 per cent of students aspired to jobs classified in the upper

28. See Table 38, Appendix F.
29. See Table 39, Appendix F.
30. See Table 40, Appendix F.

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professional category (category 1). Slightly more boys (31 per cent) than girls (27 per cent) gave this aspiration. A marked difference occurred in the percentage of boys and girls aspiring to jobs in the ANU status categories 2–6 (10 per cent, boys; 21 per cent, girls). There is also a tendency for a higher proportion of girls than boys to aspire to the lower status jobs in categories 10–16 (11 per cent, boys; 18 per cent, girls).

Marginally higher proportions of students from families of ES/NES and NES origin aspired to jobs in the upper professional category in comparison with students born in overseas ES countries and Australian-born parents (35 per cent and 34 per cent compared with 29 per cent and 27 per cent) (Diagram 14). Slightly lower proportions of the NES origin group aspired to the lower status jobs (categories 10–16) in comparison with the three other groups.

Variations in the status distributions occurred among the ethnic subgroups. In two of the subgroups (Lebanese and parents born in different NES countries) 42 per cent of students aspired to jobs in the upper professional category. In contrast, 6 per cent of the Maltese and 25 per cent of the Italian origin students aspired to this category. However, 75 per cent of the Maltese and 55 per cent of the Italians aspired to jobs in status categories 7–9 (clerical workers, armed services, police, craftsmen). It is interesting to note that the Lebanese had the highest proportion (21 per cent) aspiring to the lower status jobs (categories 10–16). These results highlight the heterogeneous nature of the Lebanese group in terms of occupational aspiration status.

As the majority of students who returned to school in Grade 11 had aspirations to attend further education courses after Grade 12 it was expected that the occupational aspiration status distribution of this select group would be skewed towards the upper status levels.[31] In Grade 11, 42 per cent of the students aspired to jobs in the highest occupational status category, compared with 29 per cent of the larger Grade 9 group.

Table 37
STUDENT CHOICE OF FRIENDS BY ASPIRATION FOR TERTIARY EDUCATION

Chooser's aspiration for tertiary education	*Chosen's aspirations for tertiary education*					
	Did not aspire to tertiary education		*Aspired to tertiary education*		*Total choices*	
	N	%	*N*	%	*N*	%
School 3 (Boys) (*a*)						
Did not aspire to tertiary education	122	73	46	27	168	100
Aspired to tertiary education	48	61	31	39	79	100
School 9 (Girls)						
Did not aspire to tertiary education	104	71	42	29	146	100
Aspired to tertiary education	39	31	87	69	126	100
School 14 (Co-ed)						
Did not aspire to tertiary education	260	84	50	16	310	100
Aspired to tertiary education	60	53	54	47	114	100

(*a*) See footnote (*a*) on Table 27.

31. See Table 41, Appendix F.

Variations occurred in the distributions for boys and girls. In comparison with the girls, boys tended to be over-represented in category 1 and categories 7–9 and under-represented in categories 2–6 and categories 10–13.

Fifty-nine per cent of the Greek origin students in Grade 11 aspired to category 1 jobs compared with a figure of 45 per cent for the total NES group. In comparison, 41 per cent of students with Australian-born parents and 38 per cent of students with parents born in overseas ES countries aspired to category 1 occupations. Higher proportions of the Maltese and Italian student groups aspired to status categories 7–9, which mirrors the Grade 9 result.

In Report No. 2 the analysis of students' comments about the provision of career education was summarised as follows:

> . . . during their Grade 9 year, students reported that 'parents' and 'workers in desired jobs' were very helpful sources of information about jobs and education courses but in Grade 11 students relied less on parents and more frequently turned towards careers handbooks. Less than one-third of students rated teachers and high school career advisers as being very helpful sources of information, and a high proportion of students overall felt that they needed either a fair amount or a lot more information about jobs and courses open to them.
>
> Meade (1981 : 108)

Parents in our interview sample were asked what concrete steps they had taken to obtain information concerning occupations suitable for their child (Table 38). Parents sought information from such sources as: career publications, counsellors at school, vocational guidance personnel, counsellors outside school and business persons. One-third of parents had not taken any steps to obtain such information. A higher proportion of parents of girls (39 per cent) took no steps in comparison with the parents of boys (27 per cent). More parents of boys than girls had sought vocational guidance counselling outside school (19 per cent boys, 12 per cent girls) and had contacted businesses or business associates (27 per cent boys, 13 per cent girls). The parents of girls had more frequently contacted educational institutions or taken other steps (9 per cent boys, 17 per cent girls).

Almost half (49 per cent) of the NES origin parents had taken no concrete steps to obtain information concerning occupations suitable for their child compared with 32 per cent for the ES/NES group, 24 per cent for the overseas-born parents from ES countries and 17 per cent for the Australian-born parents. Language difficulties, lack of business contacts and lack of knowledge of available sources most likely all hindered NES origin migrant parents from providing practical help to assist their children to realise the high educational and occupational aspirations they held for them. There were no major variations among the separate ethnic subgroups in the proportions of parents who had not taken any concrete steps to obtain information concerning suitable occupations for their child.

Students were asked, during their Grade 9 year, to indicate whether they thought they would achieve their aspirations for education and jobs.[32] Fifty-eight per cent of the total group indicated that they foresaw no barriers and therefore did not respond to the second part of the question which sought information about what the barriers might be. The comments of those who answered showed a greater emphasis on personal limitations (for example, inadequate school performance, inability, indecision) than on barriers outside the student's area of influence (for example, limited number of job vacancies).

Fewer boys than girls indicated that their aspirations might not be realised because of barriers associated with personal limitations (51 per cent, boys; 56 per cent, girls). More boys than girls mentioned barriers associated with factors outside their own area of influence (42 per cent, boys; 34 per cent, girls). No major differences in proportions were apparent when the results were subdivided by 'parents' country of birth'.[33]

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32. See Table 42, Appendix F.
33. See Table 43, Appendix F.

DIAGRAM 14
STUDENT JOB ASPIRATION (GRADE 9)

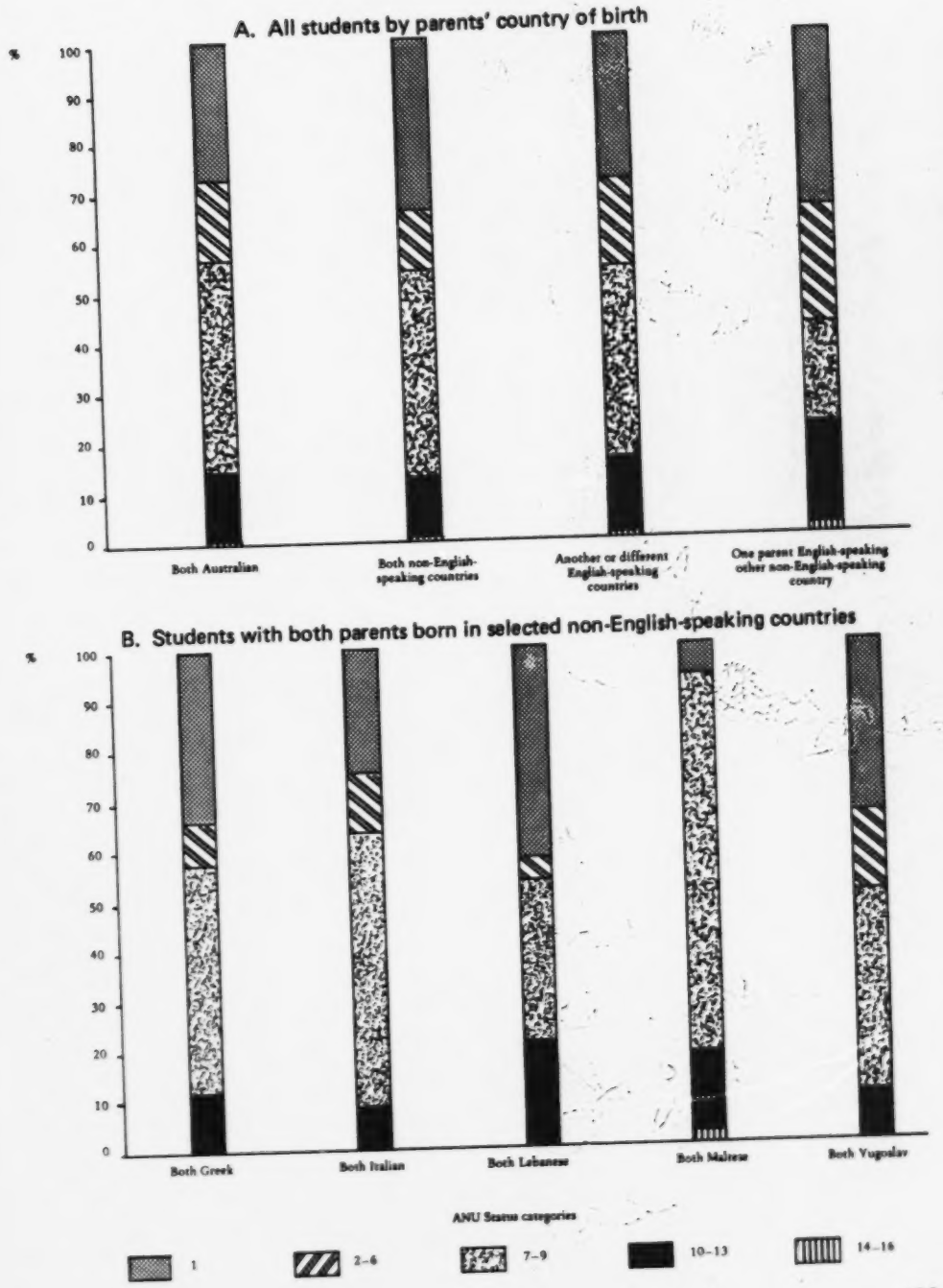

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Table 38

CONCRETE STEPS TAKEN BY PARENTS TO OBTAIN INFORMATION CONCERNING OCCUPATIONS SUITABLE FOR THEIR CHILD

By parents' country of birth

	Percentage of parents who:					
	Sought professional advice					
Sample description	*Career publications*	*Counselling at school*	*Vocational guidance or counselling outside school*	*Contacted businesses or business associates*	*Took other steps (a)*	*Took no steps*
Total sample (N = 666)	11	8	16	19	14	33
Sex of student:						
Male (N = 321)	11	7	19	27	9	27
Female (N = 345)	10	10	12	13	17	39
Parents' country of birth:						
Both Australian (N = 235)	14	8	21	25	15	17
Both non-English-speaking countries (N = 348)	6	9	11	14	12	49
Another or different English-speaking countries (N = 52)	(b)	..	21	21	..	24
One parent English-speaking other non-English-speaking country (N = 31)	13	..	..	..	21	32

(a) These other steps included providing opportunities for exploring various aspects of the larger environment, providing work experience, contacting educational institutions or general discussion between the parents and students.

(b) Where cell frequencies are less than five, no percentages are shown.

CHAPTER 5

Accreditation and school performance

INTRODUCTION

This chapter investigates the accreditation levels, measures of intellectual abilities and aptitudes and the school performance of students classified in terms of sex, SES and ethnicity. The accreditation and school performance results are taken here at face value because as indicated previously they represent powerful definitions of reality in our educational and occupational system. A number of studies have investigated the influences of sex, SES and ethnicity on accreditation.

SCHOOL ACCREDITATION

Figures released by the Australian Bureau of Statistics show that although traditionally girls left school earlier than boys, the difference in retention rates between the two sexes has been steadily decreasing. In 1976, the year in which students in the present study sat for the HSC, 34.6 per cent of males and 35.3 per cent of females remained until Grade 12 in Australia (Australian Bureau of Statistics, Cat. 4202).

A consistent finding in stratification research is that there is a strong relationship between SES and length of schooling. A number of Australian studies[1] have noted that students with higher SES origins are more likely to stay at school longer than those from lower SES origins. IQ has also been shown to influence school retention rate with students rated high on ability remaining at school longer than others (e.g. Connell et al., 1975, Howe and Moore, 1976).

There are few researchers who have investigated the relationship between NES migrant origin of students and school retentivity. Prior to the mid 1970s most State education departments, as a matter of policy, did not keep records of students' ethnic origins and therefore the data recorded did not enable such comparison to be made. Those studies which are available indicate that NES origin migrant children tend to remain at school longer than do children with Australian-born parents when the influence of SES is controlled (Connell et al., 1975; Taft, 1975*a* and *b*; Williams et al., 1980).

The longitudinal design of this study was utilised to develop a measure of accreditation. First, students were classified into three groups according to whether they left school before the SC, after the SC without completing the HSC, or after the HSC. However, this coarse definition of accreditation emphasises 'staying on' at school and takes no account of the students' performance while at school. In some ways it could be considered as a measure of aspiration. Therefore a measure of performance was also taken into account and those gaining the SC and HSC were divided into three categories—high, medium and low. Thus, the level of accredition developed was measured on a seven-point scale.

SCHOOL ACCREDITATION BY SEX

A greater percentage of girls in our study continued to the HSC than did the boys—35 per cent compared with 31 per cent (Tables 39 and 40). When the level of performance is considered, a slightly larger proportion of girls overall achieved high or medium HSC results in comparison with boys (25 per cent compared with 21 per cent) and a lower proportion of girls than boys were classified in the poorly accredited groups i.e. those who left school prior to the SC or gained low SC results (34 per cent compared with 41

1. Behrens, 1978; Broom et al., 1968; Fitzgerald, 1976; Hammond and Cox, 1967; Keeves, 1978; Rosier, 1978; Taft, 1975*a* and *b*; Williams et al., 1980; Wiseman, 1970*a*; Wright et al., 1978.

per cent). However, these overall results hide the marked variations that occur when girls and boys are classified by parents' country of birth. There is no difference between Australian males' and females' retentivity but there is a marked difference between that of NES origin males and females (31 per cent of males completed the HSC compared with 47 per cent of females). More females than males completed the HSC in every NES ethnic subgroup with the exception of the Maltese where two boys and one girl sat for the HSC. Within the NES origin group a higher proportion of girls than boys gained medium or high HSC results (31 per cent compared with 18 per cent). A similar result occurred within the ES/NES group, whereas roughly equal proportions of ES background boys and girls obtained medium or high HSC results.

Among the ethnic subgroups, there were marked variations in the proportions of girls and boys who were highly accredited. Again, in all subgroups except the Maltese, more girls than boys gained medium or high HSC results.

There was a comparatively larger proportion of girls of Australian origin who gained a medium or high SC and left school in comparison with girls from other ethnic origins. For example, 37 per cent of girls of Australian origin were in this classification compared with 19 per cent of girls of NES origin.

SCHOOL ACCREDITATION BY ETHNICITY

Table 39 and Diagram 15 show the distribution of accreditation of children who were enrolled in Grade 9 by parents' country of birth. The majority of students of all ethnic groups left before the HSC, but a higher proportion of the two student groups with at least one parent born in an NES country remained at school until the HSC in comparison with the ES background student groups. Forty-three per cent of the group with one parent from an ES country and the other from an NES country, and 41 per cent of the group with both parents born in NES countries remained at school to the HSC. In comparison, 30 per cent of students with both Australian-born parents, and 35 per cent of students with both parents born in overseas ES countries were in this category. Major variations occurred in the proportions who remained at school until the HSC among the ethnic subgroups, ranging from Greek (57 per cent) to Maltese (8 per cent).

When the separate NES ethnic subgroups are examined further it is apparent that the most recent arrivals are concentrated in the Lebanese, Yugoslav and another NES country (both same) ethnic subgroups (Table 41). Several differences in the results are apparent between the Lebanese and Yugoslav groups. For example, in the case of Lebanese children there were 32 per cent of the new arrivals who left school before the SC compared with 7 per cent of children who were born in Australia or arrived prior to age 10. The comparative percentages for the Yugoslav children were 9 per cent and 10 per cent. Ten per cent of the Lebanese new arrivals remained at school until the HSC, compared with 37 per cent of the remainder of the Lebanese group. The comparative percentages for the Yugoslav children were 32 per cent and 55 per cent.

A greater proportion of these NES origin children (Table 39) gained medium or high HSC results than did the Australian or other ES groups (26 per cent compared with 22 per cent and 24 per cent, respectively). However, a higher proportion of the NES children gained low HSC results in comparison with the Australian or other ES groups (15 per cent compared with 8 per cent and 11 per cent). The proportion of the NES origin children who gained high SC results and left school was low in comparison with the Australian or other ES groups (6 per cent compared with 13 per cent and 10 per cent).

There were marked variations among the proportion of the ethnic subgroups who gained medium or high HSC results (e.g. 32 per cent of the Greek children were in this category compared with 14 per cent of the Lebanese). At the same time there was some concentration of the Italian, Lebanese and Maltese students in the poorly accredited

Table 39A
SCHOOL ACCREDITATION
All students by parents' country of birth

		Percentage distribution						
			Left after SC but before HSC			*Remained to HSC*		
Sample description	*N*	*Left before school certificate*	*Low school certificate (a)*	*Medium school certificate*	*High school certificate*	*Low HSC (0–211)*	*Medium HSC (212–297)*	*High HSC (298–489)*
Total sample	2 970	9	29	19 (58)	11	10	12 (33)	10
Sex: Male	1 414	9	32	20 (60)	8	11	12 (31)	9
Female	1 556	8	26	18 (56)	13	10	13 (35)	12
Parents' country of birth								
Both Australian	1 659	8	28	21 (62)	13	8	12 (30)	10
Both non-English-speaking countries	635	9	30	16 (52)	6	15	15 (41)	11
Another or different English-speaking countries	485	9	30	17 (57)	10	11	14 (35)	10
One parent English-speaking other non-English-speaking country	121	12	20	18 (45)	7	15	12 (43)	16

(*a*) School certificate: high—4 to 6 school subjects taken at 'advanced level'
medium—1 to 3 school subjects taken at 'advanced' level
low—all school subjects taken at ordinary level or some combination of 'ordinary' and 'modified'

Table 39B

SCHOOL ACCREDITATION

Students with both parents born in non-English-speaking countries

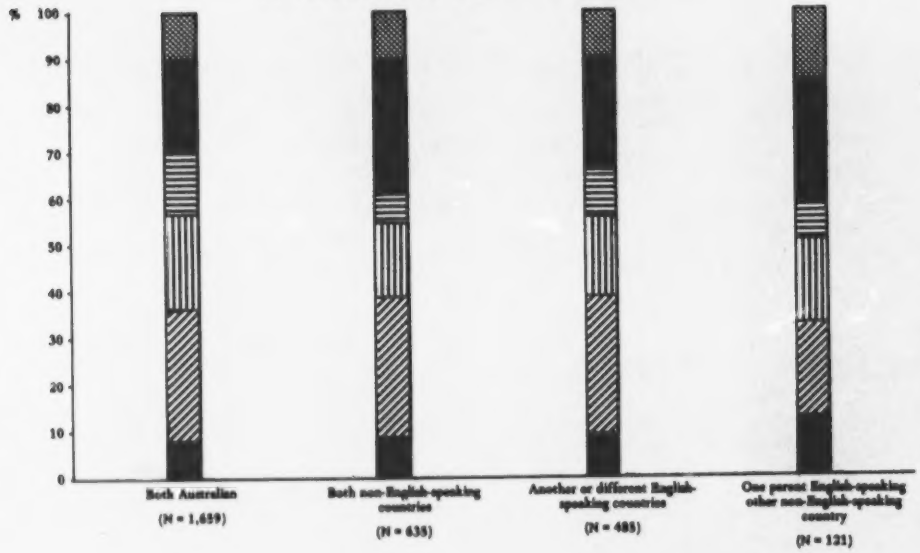
		Percentage distribution						
			Left after SC but before HSC			*Remained to HSC*		
Parents' country of birth	*N*	*Left before school certificate*	*Low school certificate (a)*	*Medium school certificate*	*High school certificate*	*Low HSC (0–211)*	*Medium HSC (212–297)*	*High HSC (298–489)*
Both Greek	109	5	25	9 (39)	5	25	19 (57)	13
Both Italian	87	13	29	16 (50)	5	12	13 (39)	14
Both Lebanese	48	17	38	17 (57)	2	13	10 (27)	4
Both Maltese	37	19	46	22 (73)	5	..	3 (8)	5
Both Yugoslav	51	10	26	16 (46)	4	24	16 (46)	6
Another non-English-speaking country (both same)	224	5	30	20 (57)	7	14	14 (39)	11
Different non-English-speaking countries	79	9	29	11 (49)	9	10	18 (42)	14
Total NES	635	9	30	16 (52)	6	15	15 (41)	11

(a) See footnote (a) on Table 39A.

DIAGRAM 15

SCHOOL ACCREDITATION

A. All students by parents' country of birth



B. Students with both parents born in selected non-English-speaking countries

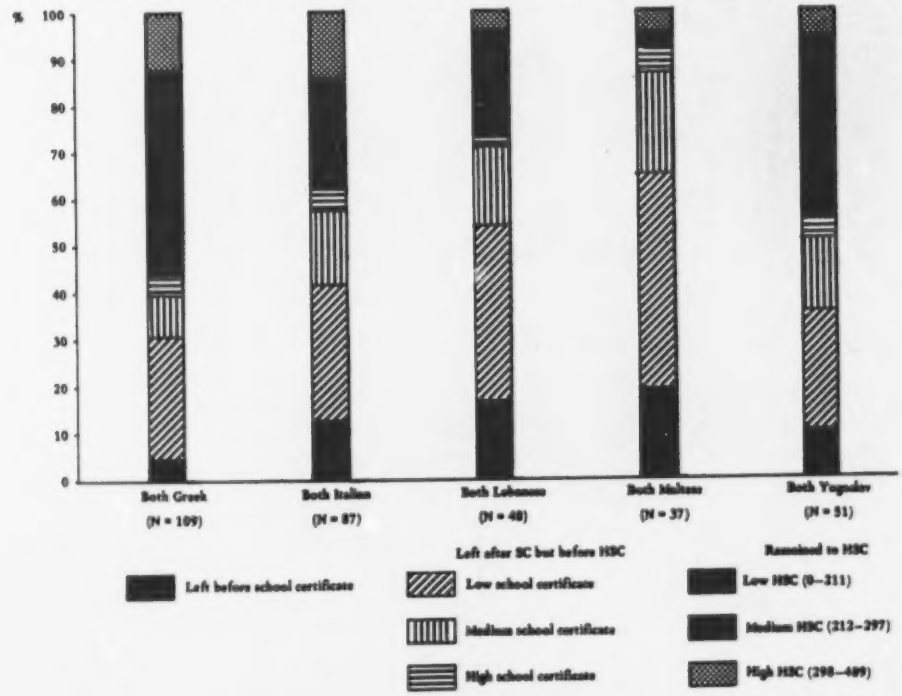


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Table 40A

SCHOOL ACCREDITATION BY SEX

All students by parents' country of birth

			Percentage distribution							
				Left after SC but before HSC			*Remained to HSC*			
Sample description		*N*	*Left before SC*	*Low SC (a)*	*Medium SC*	*High SC*	*Low HSC (0–211)*	*Medium HSC (212–297)*	*High HSC (298–489)*	
Total sample		2 970	9	29	19 (58)	11	10	12 (32)	10	
Sex:	Male	1 414	9	32	20 (60)	8	11	12 (31)	9	
	Female	1 556	8	26	18 (56)	13	10	13 (35)	12	
Parents' country of birth										
Both Australian	Male	793	8	31	21 (62)	10	10	11 (30)	9	
	Female	866	8	26	20 (63)	17	7	12 (30)	11	
Both non-English-speaking countries	Male	267	8	36	21 (62)	5	13	11 (31)	7	
	Female	368	9	26	12 (45)	7	16	17 (47)	14	
Another or different English-speaking countries	Male	254	10	31	17 (56)	8	10	15 (34)	9	
	Female	231	7	28	17 (58)	13	12	13 (37)	11	
One parent English-speaking other non-English-speaking country	Male	57	16	16	21 (46)	9	18	5 (39)	16	
	Female	64	9	23	16 (45)	6	13	17 (46)	16	

(a) See footnote (a) on Table 39A.

Table 40B

SCHOOL ACCREDITATION BY SEX

Students with both parents born in non-English-speaking countries

Parents' country of birth		*N*	*Left before school certificate*	*Left after school certificate but before HSC*			*Remained to HSC*		
				Low school certificate(a)	*Medium school certificate*	*High school certificate*	*Low HSC* (0–211)	*Medium HSC* (212–297)	*High HSC* (298–400)
Both Greek	Male	20	..	40	10 (55)	5	25	20 (45)	..
	Female	89	6	21	9 (35)	5	25	19 (60)	15
Both Italian	Male	36	14	33	28 (64)	3	11	3 (22)	3
	Female	51	12	26	8 (40)	6	12	20 (50)	10
Both Lebanese	Male	30	17	37	23 (63)	3	7	10 (20)	3
	Female	18	17	39	6 (45)	..	22	11 (39)	6
Both Maltese	Male	21	19	48	14 (72)	10	..	5 (10)	5
	Female	16	19	44	31 (75)	..	..	.. (6)	6
Both Yugoslav	Male	22	9	27	23 (50)	..	27	14 (41)	..
	Female	29	10	24	10 (41)	7	21	17 (48)	10

Table 40B—continued

Students with both parents born in non-English-speaking countries

Another non-English-speaking country (both same)	Male	101	4	34	24 (63)	5	13	12 (34)	
	Female	123	6	26	16 (50)	8	15	16 (43)	
Different non-English-speaking countries	Male	37	5	38	14 (57)	5	14	14 (39)	
	Female	42	12	21	10 (43)	12	7	21 (45)	
Total NES	Male	267	8	36	21 (62)	5	13	11 (31)	
	Female	368	9	26	12 (45)	7	16	17 (47)	

(*a*) See footnote (*a*) on Table 39A.

groups, that is in the groups that left school before the SC or gained only a low SC result. The variations in results among ethnic subgroups were influenced, in part, by variations among the groups in the concentrations of children who had recently arrived in Australia. Sixteen per cent of the NES group, consisting of the most recent arrivals, gained medium or high HSC results compared with 25 per cent of the NES origin students who arrived in Australia prior to age 10 and 30 per cent of the group of NES children who were born in Australia (Table 41A). There was a higher proportion of the recently arrived NES origin students in the poorly accredited categories (i.e. low SC results or left school before SC) in comparison with those who arrived prior to age 10 or were born in Australia (47 per cent compared with 38 per cent and 33 per cent).

The results of the group of students whose parents were born overseas in ES countries reflect similar trends to the NES group. Fourteen per cent of the ES group, consisting of the most recent arrivals, gained medium or high HSC results compared with 21 per cent of ES origin students who arrived in Australia prior to age 10 and 31 per cent of those who were born in Australia (Table 41A). There was a higher proportion of the recently arrived students in the poorly accredited categories in comparison with those who arrived prior to age 10 and those who were born in Australia (48 per cent compared with 42 per cent and 31 per cent).

Table 41A

SCHOOL ACCREDITATION BY AGE AT ARRIVAL

Students with both parents born overseas

		Percentage distribution						
			Left after SC but before HSC			*Remained to HSC*		
Sample description	*N*	*Left before SC*	*Low SC(a)*	*Medium SC*	*High SC*	*Low HSC*	*Medium HSC*	*High HSC*
Students with both parents born in non-English-speaking countries:								
Born in Australia	304	7	26	16 (49)	7	14	17 (44)	13
Arrived before 10 years of age	162	10	28	16 (49)	5	15	12 (40)	13
Arrived 10 years of age or over	162	10	37	17 (58)	4	16	12 (32)	4
Students with both parents born in another or different English-speaking countries:								
Born in Australia	226	6	25	20 (54)	9	10	20 (41)	11
Arrived before 10 years of age	178	12	30	17 (57)	10	11	11 (32)	10
Arrived 10 years of age or over	78	9	39	9 (62)	14	15	5 (29)	9

(*a*) See footnote (*a*) on Table 39A.

Table 41B

SCHOOL ACCREDITATION BY AGE AT ARRIVAL IN AUSTRALIA

Students with both parents born in non-English-speaking countries

Percentage distribution

Parents' country of birth	*Born in Australia or arrived before 10 years of age*								*Arrived 10 years of age or over*							
			Left after SC but before HSC			*Remained to HSC*					*Left after SC but before HSC*			*Remained to HSC*		
	N	*Left before SC*	*Low SC(a)*	*Medium SC*	*High SC*	*Low HSC*	*Medium HSC*	*High HSC*	*N*	*Left before SC*	*Low SC*	*Medium SC*	*High SC*	*Low HSC*	*Medium HSC*	*High HSC*
Both Greek	101	5	21	10 (35)	4	27	20 (61)	14	8	..	75	.. (88)	13	..	13 (13)	..
Both Italian	81	11	28	17 (49)	4	11	14 (40)	15	6	33	33	.. (50)	17	17	.. (17)	..
Both Lebanese	27	7	33	19 (56)	4	19	11 (37)	7	19	32	42	16 (58)	..	5	5 (10)	..
Both Maltese	35	20	46	20 (71)	5	..	3 (9)	6	1(b)	..	..	..	..	..	.. (..)	..
Both Yugoslav	29	10	17	14 (34)	3	24	21 (55)	10	22	9	36	18 (59)	5	23	9 (32)	..
Another non-English-speaking country (both same)	131	5	26	21 (54)	8	11	15 (41)	15	89	5	35	19 (58)	5	18	15 (37)	..
Different non-English-speaking countries	62	8	29	11 (52)	11	8	19 (40)	13	17	12	29	12 (41)	..	18	12 (47)	..
Total NES	466	8	27	16 (49)	6	14	16 (43)	13	162	10	37	17 (58)	4	16	12 (32)	4

(a) See footnote (a) on Table 39A.

(b) Where total is less than five, no percentages are shown.

SCHOOL ACCREDITATION BY IQ AND SES

Student retention rates to the HSC were calculated for each level of IQ, for SES and for IQ and SES (see Table 42A). Both IQ and SES have a noticeable effect on retentivity. A larger proportion of higher IQ students stayed on at school (48 per cent) compared with those of lower IQ (18 per cent). Students from higher SES backgrounds tended to stay on longer than their lower SES counterparts (43 per cent compared with 28 per cent).

When groups of students of similar IQ, similar SES or similar IQ and SES were compared, those with both parents of NES origin were consistently more likely to remain at school to the HSC than were students of other ethnic backgrounds. For example, for the lower IQ lower SES group (into which 55 per cent of the NES origin students fall), 25 per cent of NES students in the subsample remained to the HSC compared with 21 per cent of the ES/NES group, 16 per cent of students in the ES group and 9 per cent of students with Australian-born parents.

Table 42A

RETENTIVITY TO HSC BY LINGUISTIC AND QUANTITATIVE IQ (ML & MQ) AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS

All students by parents' country of birth

		Parents' country of birth				
		Both Australian	*Both non-English-speaking countries*	*Another or different English-speaking countries*	*One parent English-speaking other non-English-speaking country*	*Total*
Linguistic and quantitative IQ (ML & MQ)	*Socio-economic status*	% *remained to HSC*	% *remained to HSC*	% *remained to HSC*	% *remained to HSC*	% *remained to HSC*
Higher (107–135)	Higher (ANU status categories 1–8)	51	73	57	59	55
	Lower (ANU status categories 9–16)	37	59	38	52	42
Lower (70–106)	Higher	16	44	25	40	23
	Lower	9	25	16	21	16
Total higher IQ		44	63	46	55	48
Total lower IQ		11	29	19	26	18
	Total higher SES	39	58	45	53	43
	Total lower SES	24	36	27	35	28
Grand total (N = 2 740) (*a*)		31	40	35	42	34

(*a*) Actual cell frequencies can be calculated from values given in Table 5A.

The relative importance of IQ, SES and ethnicity can be ascertained using the WNPD technique described in the methodology section (Chapter 2). It was found that when it came to gaining the HSC, higher IQ students had a net average 'advantage' of 32 per cent over students with lower IQ whereas students from a higher SES background only had an 'advantage' of 14 per cent over those from lower SES backgrounds. It is clearly an advantage to come from a NES background—NES origin students had an 'advantage' of 20 per cent over students of other backgrounds, where the influences of IQ and SES were controlled.[2]

Cross-tabulations of retentivity to the HSC by IQ and SES for each ethnic subgroup (Table 42B) reveal the powerful influence of IQ. The relatively higher aspirations of lower SES Greek students in comparison with Greek students from higher SES backgrounds identified in the previous chapter carried through into actual retention rates. In contrast, 83 per cent of the higher SES Lebanese students completed the HSC compared with 23 per cent of the lower SES group. WNPD results were:

(a) 35 per cent on the basis of higher versus lower IQ;
(b) 9 per cent on the basis of higher versus lower SES;
(c) 20 per cent on the basis of Greek origin;
(d) −13 per cent on the basis of Italian origin;
(e) −13 per cent on the basis of Lebanese origin; and
(f) 0 per cent on the basis of Yugoslav origin.

Table 42B

RETENTIVITY TO HSC LINGUISTIC AND QUANTITATIVE IQ (ML & MQ) AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS

Students with both parents born in selected non-English-speaking countries

		Parents' country of birth				
		Both Greek	*Both Italian*	*Both Lebanese*	*Both Maltese*	*Both Yugoslav*
Linguistic & quantitative IQ (ML & MQ)	*Socio-economic status*	*% remained to HSC*	*% remained to HSC*	*% remained to HSC*	*% remained to HSC*	*% remained to HSC*
Higher (107–135)	Higher (ANU status categories 1–8)	75+ (*b*)	100	100+	..	40
	Lower (ANU status categories 9–16)	83	57	50	29	75
Lower (70–106)	Higher	46	29	67+	..	33+
	Lower	49	23	17	5	37
Total higher IQ		82	68	67	25	65
Total lower IQ		48	24	22	4	36
	Total higher SES	53	64	83	..	38
	Total lower SES	62	33	23	10	48
Grand total (*a*)		60	39	32	10	46

(*a*) Actual cell frequencies can be calculated from values given in Table 5B.
(*b*) + used where cell total is less than five.

2. The results by parents' country of birth for remaining groups were: −14 per cent (both Australian); 0 per cent (both overseas born in ES countries) and 9 per cent (ES/NES).

The result for IQ demonstrates clearly that the institutional ideology correctly describes the situation for a sizeable number of children from ethnic subgroups. Table 42B reveals that lower IQ Greek children and lower IQ Yugoslav children, with retentivity rates to the HSC of the order of 48 per cent and 36 per cent respectively, are two groups which exerted some challenge to the notion that lower ability children should not be accredited.

As school retention takes no account of the level of performance achieved, accreditation results expressed on a seven-point scale were cross-tabulated by IQ and by SES. Diagram 16 shows the accreditation distribution cross-tabulated by both IQ and SES while Tables 43A and 44A show the results cross-tabulated by IQ and SES respectively.[3] Overall, the influence of IQ and SES on school accreditation is cumulative i.e. the groups, in descending order of proportions of students gaining medium or high HSC, are high IQ and high SES, high IQ and low SES, low IQ and high SES, and low IQ and low SES. However, IQ has a considerably stronger effect than does SES. For example, for the total sample, 39 per cent of the higher IQ students achieved high or medium HSC results compared with 8 per cent of the lower IQ group, while the comparative percentages for the higher and lower SES groups were 32 per cent and 19 per cent.

The WNPD calculations were replicated utilising the more powerful measure of school accreditation—high or medium HSC results versus the remainder. The figure obtained from higher versus lower IQ was 33 per cent while that resulting from higher versus lower SES was only 11 per cent. The magnitude of the 'advantage' that the NES origin migrants have over all other students in the sample is 15 per cent.[4] Thus, when high or medium HSC results were used as the criterion the 'advantage' of the NES origin migrants was reduced from the figure of 20 per cent (discussed above) where only retentivity to the HSC was considered. However, the advantage is still quite substantial.

Table 43B reveals that higher IQ students in each ethnic subgroup were consistently more likely to obtain high or medium HSC results. It is noted that 60 per cent of Italian and Lebanese origin children and 79 per cent of the Maltese of lower IQ either left school before the SC or obtained low SC results. These students, in particular, need considerable remedial assistance if they are to succeed in public examinations such as the SC.

Table 44B enables 'ethclass' comparisons to be made among ethnic subgroups. With the exception of Greek origin students larger proportions of the higher SES ethnic categories obtained medium or high HSC results compared with lower SES ethnic categories. In particular, it is noted that 58 per cent of higher SES Italian origin students and 50 per cent of the higher SES Lebanese obtained medium or high HSC results. However, student numbers were only 14 and 6 respectively. It is also noted that 57 per cent of lower SES Lebanese origin students and 63 per cent of the lower SES Maltese left school before the SC or obtained low SC results.

Measures of intellectual abilities and aptitudes

Research studies have also focused on sex differences in performance on tests of intellectual ability. Girls seem to achieve marginally higher scores on tests of literacy and word knowledge (Levin, 1976; Walker, 1976). Meade (1978) noted a tendency for girls to score higher than boys on tests of verbal reasoning and reading vocabulary. Girls obtained marginally higher scores on a test for linguistic intelligence and lower scores on the test for quantitative ability in number reasoning. Spearitt (1970) also found a slight sex difference in test scores on verbal and number reasoning. The average score of girls was higher for verbal reasoning than number reasoning. He reports the reverse results for boys. However, Marjoribanks (1980) found no evidence to support the proposition that girls and boys differ in cognitive performance.

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3. Further details are provided in Table 44, Appendix G.
4. The results by parents' country of birth for remaining groups were: –9 per cent (both Australian); 0 per cent (both overseas born in ES countries) and 2 per cent (ES/NES).

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DIAGRAM 16

SCHOOL ACCREDITATION BY LINGUISTIC AND QUANTITATIVE IQ (ML + MQ) AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS

All students by parents' country of birth

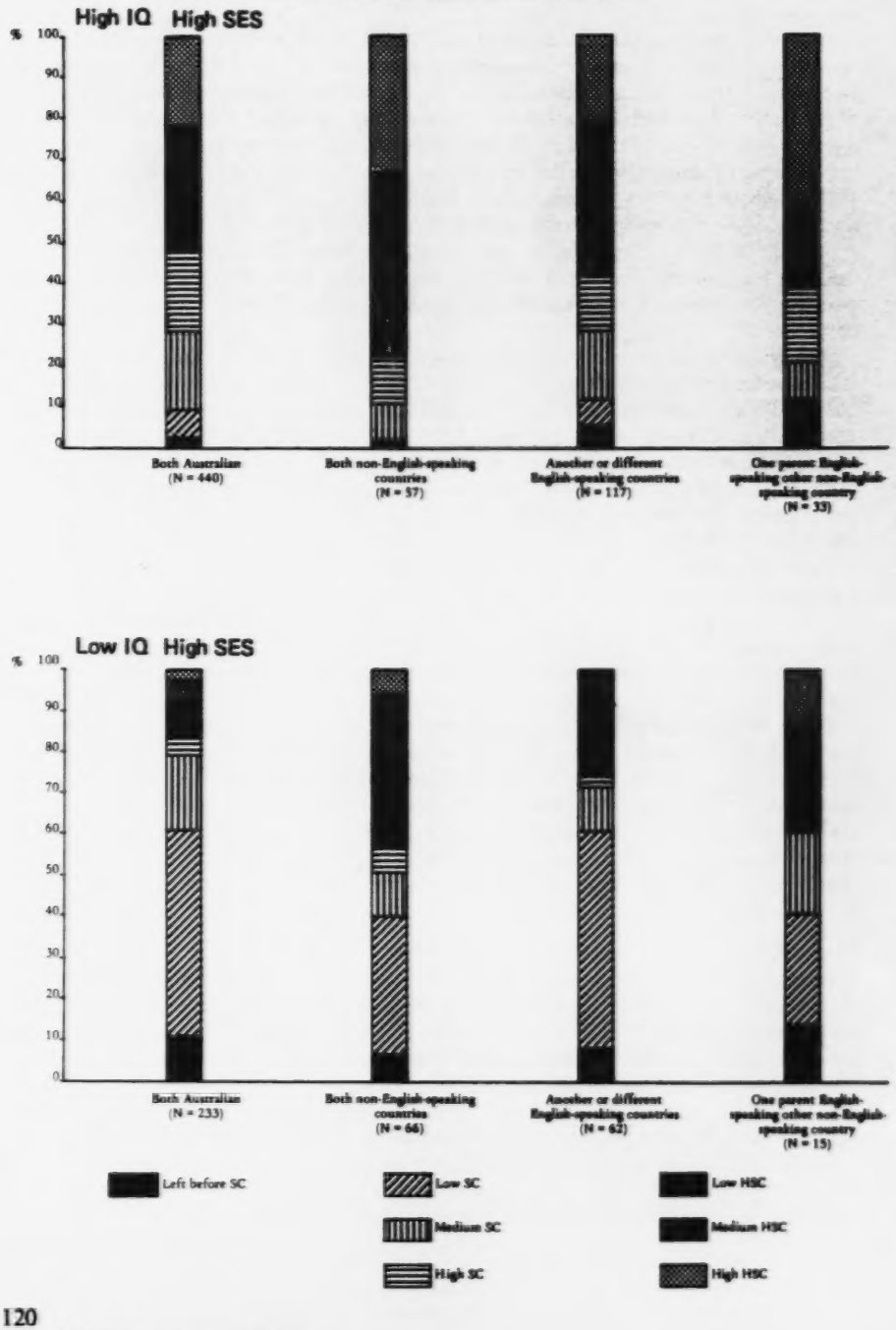

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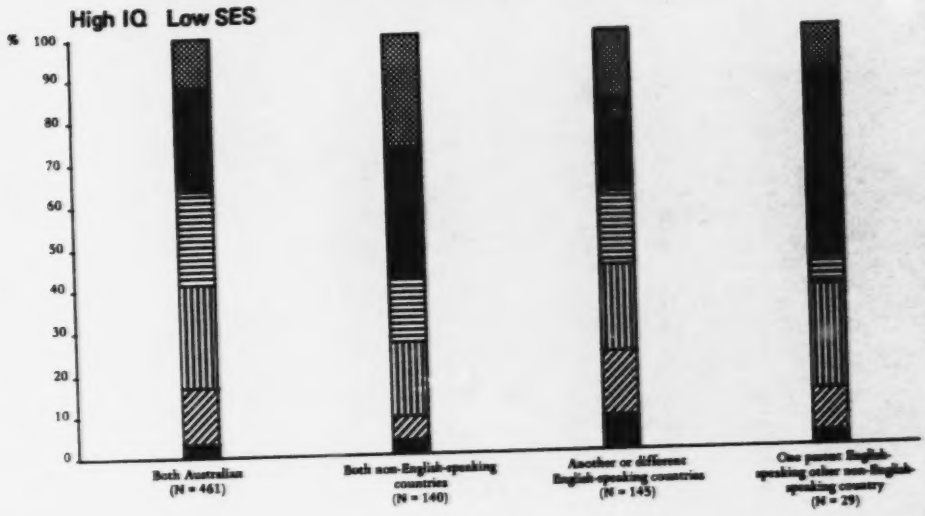
DIAGRAM 16 continued

SCHOOL ACCREDITATION BY LINGUISTIC AND QUANTITATIVE IQ (ML + MQ) AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS (cont)



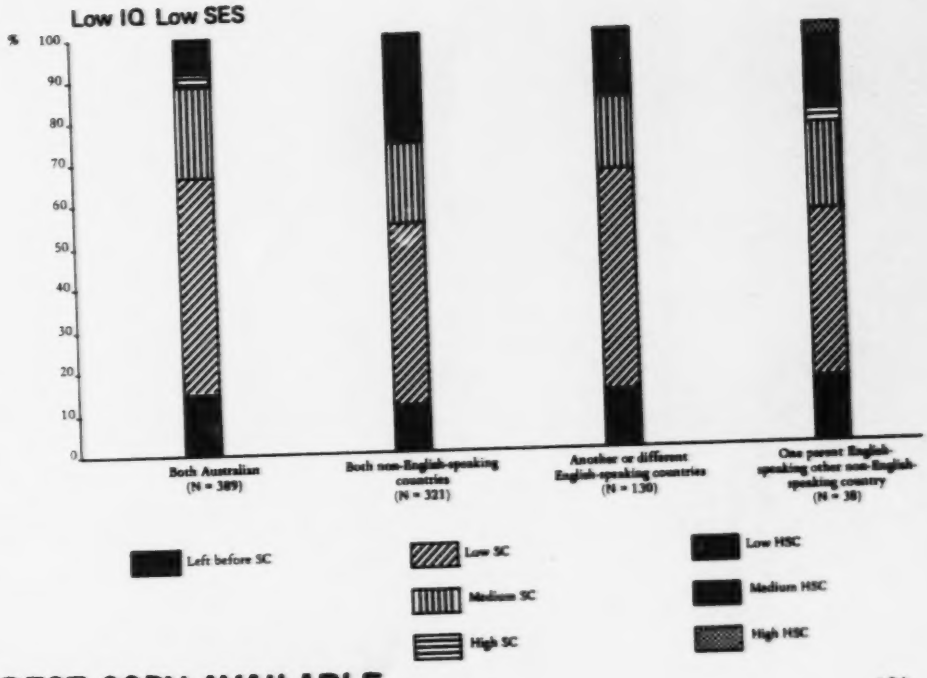


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Table 43A

SCHOOL ACCREDITATION BY LINGUISTIC AND QUANTITATIVE IQ (ML + MQ)

All students by parents' country of birth

			Percentage distribution						
				Left after SC but before HSC			*Remained to HSC*		
Parents' country of birth	*Linguistic and quantitative IQ(ML & MQ)*	*N*	*Left before school certificate*	*Low school certificate (a)*	*Med. school certificate*	*High school certificate*	*Low HSC (0–211)*	*Medium HSC (212–297)*	*High HSC (298–400)*
Both Australian	Higher IQ	901	3	10	22	21	9	18	17
	Lower IQ	622	14	51	20	3	7	4	1
Both non-English-speaking countries	Higher IQ	197	3	4	15	14	11	25	29
	Lower IQ	387	11	42	17	2	18	9	3
Another or different English-speaking countries	Higher IQ	262	6	11	19	16	8	21	18
	Lower IQ	192	11	52	15	2	14	5	1
One parent English-speaking other non-English-speaking country	Higher IQ	62	8	5	16	13	18	15	26
	Lower IQ	53	15	36	21	2	13	8	6
Total	Higher IQ	1 422	4	9	20	19	10	20	19
	Lower IQ	1 254	13	48	19	2	12	6	2

(*a*) See footnote (*a*) on Table 39A.

Table 43B

SCHOOL ACCREDITATION BY LINGUISTIC AND QUANTITATIVE IQ (ML AND MQ)

Students with both parents born in selected non-English-speaking countries

Parents' country of birth	*Linguistic and quantitative IQ (ML & MQ)*	*N*	*Percentage distribution*						
			Left before school certificate	*Left after SC but before HSC*			*Remained to HSC*		
				Low school certificate (a)	*Med. school certificate*	*High school certificate*	*Low HSC (0–211)*	*Medium HSC (212–297)*	*High HSC (298–489)*
Both Greek	Higher IQ	33	..	3	3	12	6	36	30
	Lower IQ	62	3	34	13	2	37	10	1
Both Italian	Higher IQ	28	..	..	21	11	7	18	43
	Lower IQ	55	16	44	15	2	13	11	..
Both Lebanese	Higher IQ	9	..	11	11	11	33	22	11
	Lower IQ	32	16	44	19	..	9	9	3
Both Maltese	Higher IQ	8	13	..	38	25	..	..	25
	Lower IQ	23	22	57	17	..	..	4	..
Both Yugoslav	Higher IQ	17	12	..	12	12	18	29	18
	Lower IQ	33	9	36	18	..	27	9	..
Total	Higher IQ	95	3	2	14	13	11	25	33
	Lower IQ	205	12	41	16	1	20	9	1

(*a*) See footnote (*a*) on Table 39A.

Table 44A

SCHOOL ACCREDITATION BY SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS

All students by parents' country of birth

			Percentage distribution						
				Left after SC but before HSC			*Remained to HSC*		
Parents' country of birth	*Socio-economic status*	*N*	*Left before school certificate*	*Low school certificate (a)*	*Med. school certificate*	*High school certificate*	*Low HSC (0–211)*	*Med. HSC (212–297)*	*High HSC (298–489)*
Both Australian	Higher SES	673	6	22	18	14	11	14	15
	Lower SES	850	8	31	23	13	6	11	7
Both non-English-speaking countries	Higher SES	123	4	18	10	9	15	25	19
	Lower SES	461	9	32	18	5	15	12	9
Another or different English-speaking countries	Higher SES	179	6	22	15	9	13	21	13
	Lower SES	275	10	33	19	10	9	10	9
One parent English-speaking other non-English-speaking country	Higher SES	48	13	8	13	13	8	15	31
	Lower SES	67	10	27	22	4	21	9	6
Total	Higher SES	1 023	6	21	17	13	12	16	15
	Lower SES	1 653	9	31	21	10	10	11	8

(a) See footnote (a) on Table 39A.

Table 44B

SCHOOL ACCREDITATION BY SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS

Students with both parents born in selected non-English-speaking countries

			Percentage distribution						
				Left after SC but before HSC			*Remained to HSC*		
Parents' country of birth	*Socio-economic status*	*N*	*Left before school certificate*	*Low school certificate(a)*	*Med. school certificate*	*High school certificate*	*Low HSC (0–211)*	*Medium HSC (212–297)*	*High HSC (298–400)*
Both Greek	Higher SES	17	..	41	..	6	24	12	18
	Lower SES	78	3	19	12	5	27	21	14
Both Italian	Higher SES	14	7	21	..	7	7	29	29
	Lower SES	69	12	30	20	4	12	10	12
Both Lebanese	Higher SES	6	..	..	17	..	33	33	17
	Lower SES	35	14	43	17	3	11	9	3
Both Maltese	Higher SES	2	..	50+ (b)	..	50+	..	..	..
	Lower SES	29	21	41	24	3	..	3	7
Both Yugoslav	Higher SES	8	25	..	25	13	13	13	13
	Lower SES	42	7	29	14	2	26	17	5
Total	Higher SES	47	6	23	6	9	17	19	19
	Lower SES	253	9	30	17	4	17	13	9

(a) See footnote (a) on Table 39A.
(b) + used where cell total is less than five.

In a study conducted in 1971 specifically to document the educational achievement of migrant children, de Lemos (1975) found that there were marked differences in performance on language tests between primary school children from NES backgrounds and those from English-speaking backgrounds. The differences for non-verbal general ability, concept development and arithmetic were much less. As part of *The Australian study of school performance*[5], an Australia-wide survey into literacy and numeracy in schools, a detailed investigation of the performance of migrant students was carried out (Hewitt, 1977, 1978). It was found that in the 14 years age group a significantly lower proportion of migrant students achieved mastery on the reading tests compared with students of Australian parentage. The amount of English spoken in the home was an important influence. Higher performance scores tended to be associated with greater use of English in the home environment. Turney et al. (1978), in their study of inner city Sydney students, found that students from migrant families with limited English had scores in reading comprehension and vocabulary well below performance levels of the general population.

As previously discussed, Marjoribanks (1980) undertook a major analysis of relations between 'ethclasses', family learning environment and children's affective and cognitive characteristics. Ethclass was defined by both social status and ethnic group stratification. The NES groups studied by Marjoribanks were representative of lower SES families. Marjoribanks found that there were ethclass group differences in cognitive measures with the largest mean differences occurring in the performance on measures of word knowledge and comprehension. ES ethclasses scored higher than NES groups.

The average results on tests[6] used to measure intellectual abilities (IQ) and aptitudes in the present study are shown in Table 45. There are small differences in performance of girls and boys. Girls achieved marginally higher scores on tests of linguistic IQ and vocabulary knowledge and lower scores on tests of quantitative IQ and GEFT than did boys.

Children with both parents born overseas in NES countries achieved average scores on the ACER ML and MQ tests which were approximately 10 points lower than the average scores obtained by the other three groups. Marked variations in the average scores occurred within the NES group when the results were classified by child's country of birth. The average ML + MQ test scores were as follows:

(a) 103.0 for those NES origin students who were born in Australia;
(b) 100.9 for those NES origin students who arrived in Australia before 10 years of age; and
(c) 92.9 for those who were 10 years of age or over when they arrived in Australia.

Variations in the average ML, MQ and ML + MQ scores occurred when the NES origin group were further subdivided by country of origin. The average ML + MQ scores ranged from 93.1 for the Lebanese students to 103.4 for the group of students with parents born in different NES countries. It is recalled that over 40 per cent of the students in the Lebanese, Yugoslav and 'another NES country (both same)' groups were aged 10 years or over when they arrived in Australia which no doubt influenced these results. Similar trends to the findings for ML and MQ are apparent in the vocabulary knowledge and 'listening and comprehension' results.

In general, the average result achieved by the NES origin students was three-quarters of a standard deviation lower than that achieved by the three remaining groups classified via the parents' country of birth variable. Again, these achievement results are taken at face value. However, they do have real meaning in determining entry to homogeneously grouped classes and they influence teachers' expectations.

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5. Keeves and Bourke, 1976; Bourke and Lewis, 1977; Bourke and Keeves, 1977.
6. Details of the tests used to measure intellectual abilities and aptitudes are shown in Appendix H.

Table 45A

MEAN INTELLECTUAL ABILITY AND APTITUDE TEST SCORES

All students by parents' country of birth

Sample description	*Linguistic IQ ML scores*			*Quantitative IQ MQ scores*			*ML & MQ*			*Vocabulary knowledge*			*Listening and comprehension*			*Standard progressive matrices*			*Group embedded figures test (GEFT)*		
	Mean	*SD*	*N*	*Mean*	*SD*	*N*	*Mean*	*SD*	*N*	*Mean*	*SD*	*N*	*Mean*	*SD*	*N*	*Mean*	*SD*	*N*	*Mean*	*SD*	
Total sample	104.6	13.9	3 029	108.2	15.6	3 028	107.2	15.2	3 039	9.3	3.8	2 973	12.7	4.1	3 025	109.5	11.9	2 440	11.8	4.6	2 5
Sex: Male	103.4	14.2	1 441	109.3	15.8	1 435	107.2	15.6	1 444	9.1	3.7	1 415	12.7	4.2	1 440	109.6	11.9	1 150	12.4	4.5	1 2
Female	105.7	13.5	1 588	107.2	15.3	1 593	107.2	14.9	1 595	9.4	3.9	1 558	12.6	4.1	1 585	109.3	11.8	1 290	11.1	4.5	1 2
Parents' country of birth:																					
Both Australian	106.5	13.3	1 686	110.6	15.0	1 685	109.5	14.6	1 693	9.8	3.7	1 659	13.3	3.9	1 684	110.3	11.4	1 370	12.2	4.4	1 4
Both non-English-speaking countries	97.7	13.9	647	101.6	15.7	648	99.7	15.1	649	7.3	3.7	631	10.8	4.3	644	106.9	12.7	542	11.1	4.8	5
Another or different English-speaking countries	107.5	12.9	500	109.6	14.9	499	109.6	14.2	500	10.1	3.7	492	13.3	4.0	501	110.1	11.9	382	11.6	4.6	4
One parent English-speaking other non-English-speaking country	106.8	12.3	125	109.8	14.9	125	109.4	13.9	125	9.4	3.4	123	12.6	3.9	125	110.2	10.7	94	11.8	4.6	9

Table 45B

MEAN INTELLECTUAL ABILITY AND APTITUDE TEST SCORES

Students with both parents born in non-English-speaking countries

Parents' country of birth	Linguistic IQ ML scores			Quantitative IQ MQ scores			ML & MQ			Vocabulary knowledge			Listening and comprehension			Standard progressive matrices			Group embedded figures test (GEFT)		
	Mean	SD	N	Mean	SD	N	Mean	SD	N	Mean	SD	N	Mean	SD	N	Mean	SD	N	Mean	SD	N
Both Greek	99.4	12.8	109	100.6	15.1	109	100.2	14.4	109	7.4	3.8	109	11.1	4.3	109	106.0	11.9	99	10.3	4.6	[illegible]
Both Italian	96.4	13.2	87	100.9	16.6	87	98.7	15.1	87	7.1	3.3	85	11.0	3.8	87	105.4	11.9	70	11.0	5.1	[illegible]
Both Lebanese	92.1	11.2	50	95.7	15.1	50	93.1	13.5	50	5.3	2.8	48	8.8	3.7	50	101.4	11.3	37	9.7	4.9	[illegible]
Both Maltese	95.2	12.0	37	96.5	14.8	37	95.4	13.9	37	6.8	3.1	33	10.0	4.3	37	104.3	8.9	30	9.5	4.8	[illegible]
Both Yugoslav	96.1	13.8	50	103.9	15.0	51	100.3	14.5	51	7.1	3.7	49	10.4	4.1	50	104.8	13.0	44	11.0	5.1	[illegible]
Another non-English-speaking country (both same)	97.8	14.6	234	103.0	15.7	234	100.6	15.5	235	7.4	3.8	229	10.8	4.4	231	109.2	13.1	201	11.5	4.7	[illegible]
Different non-English-speaking countries	102.3	14.6	80	103.8	15.8	80	103.4	15.8	80	8.5	3.8	78	11.6	4.2	80	108.9	14.4	61	12.5	4.1	[illegible]
Total NES	97.7	13.9	647	101.6	15.7	648	99.7	15.1	649	7.3	3.7	631	10.8	4.3	644	106.9	12.7	542	11.1	4.8	[illegible]

Our non-verbal intellectual ability and aptitude results (the Standard Progressive Matrices and GEFT) illustrate a narrowing in the average performance differences between NES and ES origin groups. On these measures, the average score for the NES origin students was in the order of one-third of a standard deviation lower than the scores achieved by the three remaining groups. This represents a considerable reduction in comparison with the English language IQ tests and gives some indication of the bias which occurs when the intellectual abilities and aptitudes of students from NES backgrounds are assessed via English language tests.

SCHOOL PERFORMANCE

In the previous sections, school accreditation levels of the students in our sample were examined and mean scores on measures of intellectual abilities and aptitudes were discussed. The longitudinal design of the study enabled accreditation to be defined in terms of highest educational level achieved. Alternatively, it is possible to make comparisons among the average scores achieved by groups of students classified by sex and by parents' country of birth in both the SC and HSC examinations. It should be noted when comparing results for the different ethnic groups that the tendency for the NES origin students to stay on at school to the HSC in greater proportions than the ES group is likely to depress the average HSC results of the NES group in comparison with the more select ES group.

School Certificate results

Students sat for the SC in 1975, which was the last year that they were homogeneously grouped within each subject into three levels: Advanced (A), Ordinary (O) and Modified (M).[7] Results are given in Table 46 and Diagram 17.

The girls achieved higher average scores than the boys in English but the mean performance level for boys and girls was almost identical in both Mathematics and Science. Proportionally more girls than boys were enrolled in English at an Advanced level.[8] However, there was no sex bias in the proportion of boys and girls enrolled at each level in Mathematics and Science.

Children whose parents were born in NES countries achieved lower average SC scores in English, Mathematics, Science and the School Certificate aggregate. Newly arrived NES origin students tended to be placed in one of the lower streams (Ordinary or Modified level) which limited the maximum score which they could achieve in the composite SC results which were derived for the purposes of the study.[9]

When the results are compared among the ethnic subgroups it is apparent that the average SC results are lower for the Lebanese and Maltese students (Table 46 and Diagram 17). In the case of the Lebanese, this finding most probably reflects the high proportion of students in this group who were recent arrivals in Australia.

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7. Details of the derivation of composite School Certificate scores are shown in Appendix I.
8. For English, 45 per cent of girls were enrolled at the Advanced level, 53 per cent at the Ordinary level and 3 per cent at the Modified level whereas the comparative percentages for boys were 26 per cent, 67 per cent and 7 per cent.
9. In the overall sample for *English*, 36 per cent of students studied at the Advanced level, 59 per cent at the Ordinary level and 5 per cent at the Modified level, whereas, for NES migrant students who were 10 years of age or over upon arrival,the comparative percentages were 12 per cent, 69 per cent and 18 per cent. In the overall sample for *Mathematics*, the percentages were 32 per cent, 58 per cent and 10 per cent, respectively, whereas the comparative percentages for the recently arrived NES children were 17 per cent, 65 per cent and 18 per cent. In the overall sample for *Science*, the percentages were 36 per cent, 60 per cent and 5 per cent, respectively, compared with percentages for the recently arrived NES children of 14 per cent, 74 per cent and 12 per cent.

Higher School Certificate results

It has been noted previously that the average HSC results are influenced by the proportions of students who remained at school to the HSC within each group for student groups classified by parents' country of birth.

English (Table 47, Diagrams 18 and 19)
A consideration of the total sample shows that there was a marked tendency for girls to study English at a higher level than boys.[10] The girls also achieved higher mean scores than the boys at each level of English.

Table 46A
MEAN SCHOOL CERTIFICATE SCORES
All students by parents' country of birth

	School Certificate scores (a)											
	English			*Mathematics*			*Science*			*Aggregate*		
Sample description	*Mean*	*SD*	*N*	*Mean*	*SD*	*N*	*Mean*	*SD*	*N*	*Mean*	*SD*	*N*
Total sample	5.4	2.4	2 708	5.2	2.4	2 706	5.4	2.4	2 707	14.7	8.1	2 708
Sex: Male	4.8	2.1	1 288	5.2	2.4	1 287	5.4	2.4	1 288	13.9	7.9	1 288
Female	6.0	2.4	1 420	5.1	2.5	1 419	5.5	2.4	1 419	15.3	8.2	1 420
Parents' country of birth:												
Both Australian	5.6	2.3	1 526	5.3	2.4	1 526	5.6	2.4	1 526	15.2	8.0	1 526
Both non-English-speaking countries	5.0	2.4	575	4.8	2.5	573	5.0	2.4	574	13.2	8.1	575
Another or different English-speaking countries	5.5	2.3	442	5.2	2.5	442	5.6	2.5	442	14.7	8.3	442
One parent English-speaking other non-English-speaking country	5.8	2.1	105	5.3	2.3	105	5.9	2.2	105	15.6	7.6	105

(*a*) For details of derivation, see Appendix I.

There were noticeable differences with respect to subject level studied and performance among ethnic groups. A greater proportion of students with both parents born in NES countries studied English in the modified 2 Unit A class, in comparison with the remaining groups (36 per cent of the NES origin students were enrolled in 2 Unit A compared with 29 per cent for both overseas-born ES parents, 28 per cent for one parent ES born, other NES born and 21 per cent for both Australian-born parents). Overall, only 4 per cent of students were enrolled in the advanced 3 Unit English strand and no major variations occurred among the ethnic groups in the proportions of students enrolled at this level. When the country of birth and arrival age of students whose parents were born in NES countries were taken into account in the analysis it is apparent that the recent arrivals were disproportionately enrolled in the 2 Unit A strand. Thirty per cent of the NES origin children who were born in Australia, 30 per cent of the NES origin children who arrived in Australia before age 10, and 58 per cent of the NES origin children who were 10 years or over upon arrival were enrolled in the English 2 Unit A strand.

10. For girls: 18 per cent attempted the 2 Unit A strand, 76 per cent the 2 Unit and 6 per cent the 3 Unit whereas equivalent figures for boys were: 38 per cent, 59 per cent and 2 per cent.

Table 46B

MEAN SCHOOL CERTIFICATE SCORES

Students with both parents born in non-English-speaking countries

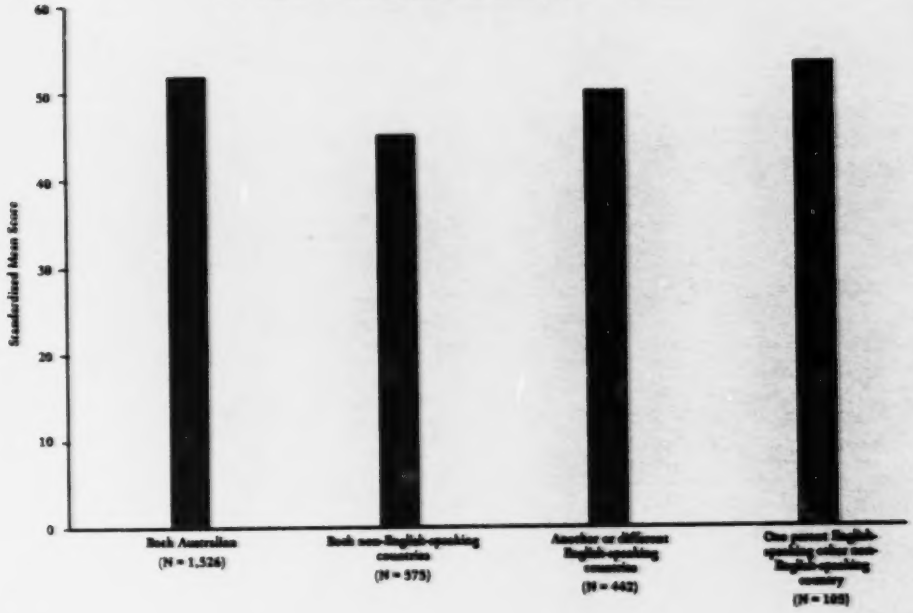
	School Certificate scores (a)											
	English			*Mathematics*			*Science*			*Aggregate*		
Parents' country of birth	*Mean*	*SD*	*N*	*Mean*	*SD*	*N*	*Mean*	*SD*	*N*	*Mean*	*SD*	*N*
Both Greek	5.4	2.4	104	5.0	2.5	104	5.0	2.3	104	13.4	8.2	[illegible]
Both Italian	4.8	2.2	76	5.0	2.6	75	4.9	3.0	75	13.4	7.9	[illegible]
Both Lebanese	4.3	2.0	39	4.4	2.0	39	3.8	1.9	39	10.4	6.7	[illegible]
Both Maltese	4.0	1.9	30	4.2	2.2	30	4.4	2.4	30	10.4	7.5	[illegible]
Both Yugoslav	4.9	2.4	46	4.8	2.2	46	4.8	1.9	46	12.4	7.7	[illegible]
Another non-English-speaking country (both same)	5.0	2.4	209	5.1	2.5	208	5.1	2.5	209	13.7	8.2	[illegible]
Different non-English-speaking countries	5.5	2.7	71	5.0	2.6	71	5.5	2.5	71	14.8	8.9	[illegible]
Total NES	5.0	2.4	575	4.8	2.5	573	5.0	2.4	574	13.2	8.1	[illegible]

(a) See footnote (a) on Table 46A.

DIAGRAM 17

MEAN SCHOOL CERTIFICATE AGGREGATES

A. All students by parents' country of birth



B. Students with both parents born in selected non-English-speaking countries

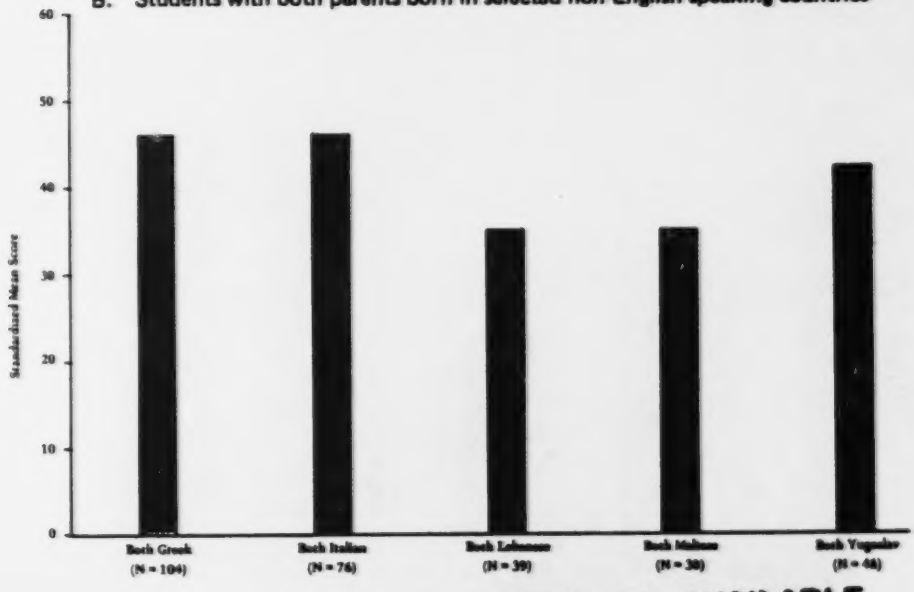


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Table 47

MEAN HIGHER SCHOOL CERTIFICATE RESULTS—ENGLISH

All students by parents' country of birth

	English 2 Unit A (a)				*English 2 Unit*				*English 3 Unit*			
Sample description	*Mean*	*SD*	*N*	*% Gp*	*Mean*	*SD*	*N*	*% Gp*	*Mean*	*SD*	*N*	*% Gp*
Total sample	37.2	19.8	266	27	52.9	18.8	676	69	112.8	21.7	43	4
Sex: Male	36.7	20.0	169	38	47.3	19.0	260	59	110.1	31.1	10	2
Female	38.0	19.6	97	18	56.4	17.8	416	76	113.6	18.6	33	6
Parents' country of birth:												
Both Australian	40.8	18.1	104	21	52.4	18.4	368	74	112.8	17.5	25	5
Both non-English-speaking countries	30.4	18.8	92	36	54.2	19.5	153	60	107.7	34.0	10	4
Another or different English-speaking countries	41.2	22.2	48	29	52.8	18.4	113	67	121.9	13.5	7	4
One parent English-speaking other non-English-speaking country	44.7	21.8	14	28	52.2	21.5	36	71	101.0	..	1	2

(a) 2 Unit A is a modified form of the 2 Unit course. 2 Unit A, and 2 Unit courses are marked out of 100; 3 Unit courses are marked out of 150.

DIAGRAM 18
PERCENTAGE ENROLLED IN HSC ENGLISH CLASS BY LEVEL

All students by parents' country of birth

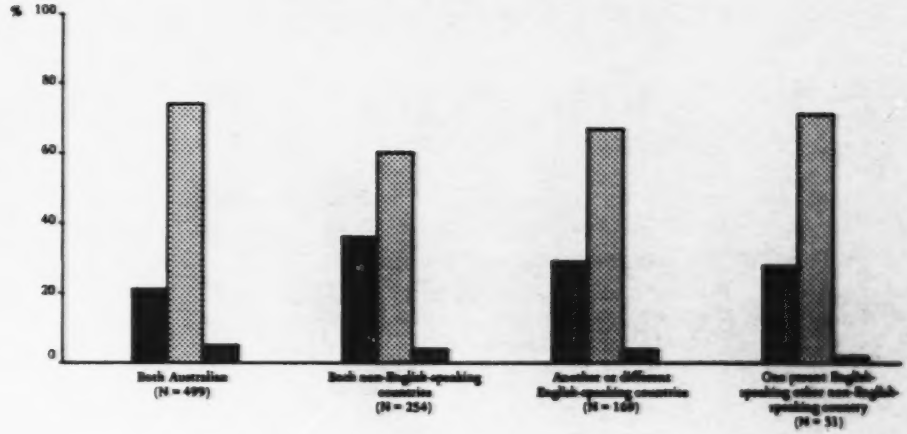
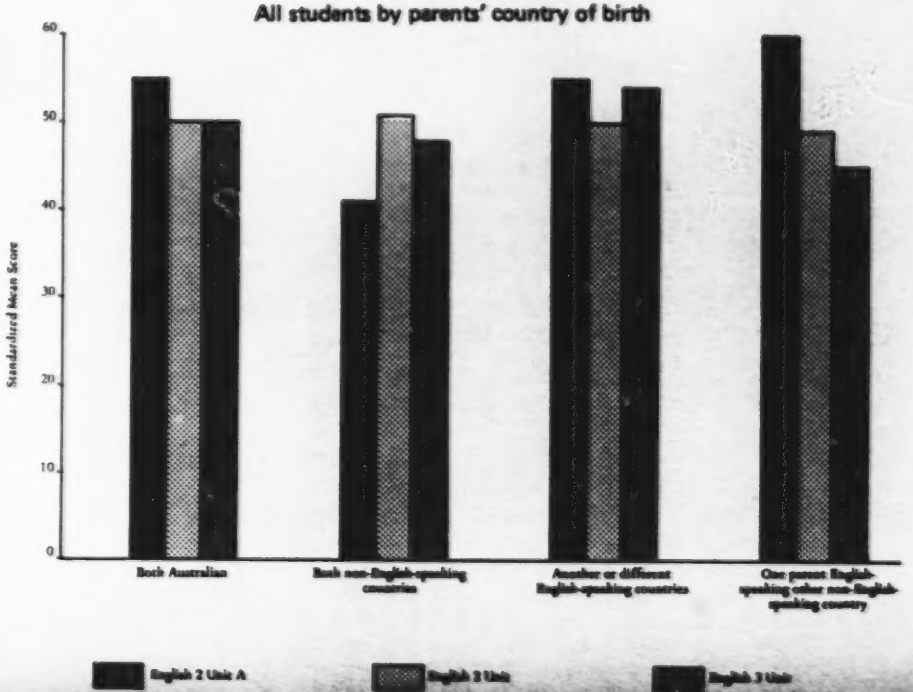


DIAGRAM 19
MEAN HSC RESULTS — ENGLISH

All students by parents' country of birth



Students with NES country of origin parents achieved a markedly lower average score (30.4) in the 2 Unit A strand than each of the three remaining groups classified by parents' country of origin (Australian: 40.8; overseas ES origin: 41.2; and ES/NES origin: 44.7). There were variations in the average scores achieved in the 2 Unit A strand by students within the NES group when they were classified by child's country of birth: those born in Australia achieved an average of 35.5; those who arrived before 10 years of age an average of 26.2 and those who were 10 years of age or more an average of 26.5.

The NES origin students obtained a higher average score in the 2 Unit strand than did the other groups (54.2 compared with the total sample mean of 52.9) and when classified by child's country of birth even more marked variations were apparent. NES origin students born in Australia gained an average score of 56.3 while those who were 10 years of age or more on arrival had a score of 46.1. The numbers enrolled in the English 3 Unit strand are too sparse to allow valid comparisons to be made.

When comparisons of English results were attempted among the ethnic subgroups it was apparent that the numbers in several of the groups were too small for valid comparisons to be made.

Mathematics (Table 48, Diagrams 20 and 21)

When the total sample is considered it is apparent that there is a slight tendency for boys to study Mathematics at a higher level than girls.[11] In the advanced 3 Unit strand the girls achieved a higher average result than boys (97.4 compared with 89.7) but the average results they achieved in the 2 Unit A and 2 Unit strands were lower than that achieved by the boys.

A greater proportion of students with both parents born in NES countries studied Mathematics in the modified 2 Unit A class in comparison with the remaining groups although the variations were less marked than for English (31 per cent of the NES origin students were enrolled in 2 Unit A compared with 29 per cent for both overseas-born ES parents, 25 per cent for both Australian-born parents, and 25 per cent for one parent ES born, other NES born). The proportion of students studying the 3 Unit strand was lower for the NES and ES/NES groups in comparison with the Australian and overseas ES groups (15 and 14 per cent compared with 21 and 18 per cent respectively). No major variations occurred in the enrolment distributions within the group of children with parents born in NES countries when the child's country of birth and age at arrival in Australia were included in the analysis.

The students with NES origin parents achieved lower average Mathematics results in the 2 Unit A and 2 Unit strands compared with the three remaining groups classified by parents' country of birth. The NES origin students who were 10 years of age or more when they arrived in Australia achieved relatively lower scores in these two strands in comparison with the remainder of the NES group.[12] In the 3 Unit strand the average results of the total NES group approximated that of the Australian group but were lower than those achieved by the overseas ES origin and ES/NES origin groups.

HSC aggregate (Tables 48, 49, Diagram 22)

In the overall sample, girls obtained a higher average HSC aggregate score (259.9) than boys (248.5).

The group of students with NES origin parents achieved lowest average HSC aggregate scores (239.2) in comparison with three remaining groups classified by the parents' country of birth variable. The Australian origin group achieved the highest average result (262.3). Considerable variations occurred among the mean HSC aggregate scores of the ethnic subgroups. If the Maltese group is excluded in view of the small number

11. For boys: 23 per cent attempted the 2 Unit A strand, 56 per cent the 2 Unit strand and 21 per cent the 3 Unit strand whereas equivalent figures for girls were: 32 per cent, 52 per cent and 17 per cent.
12. The mean results for those recently arrived NES students were: for 2 Unit A—20.4 (Standard deviation 11.9), and for 2 Unit—31.1 (Standard deviation 17.0).

Table 48

MEAN HIGHER SCHOOL CERTIFICATE RESULTS—MATHEMATICS AND AGGREGATE

All students by parents' country of birth

	Maths 2 Unit A (a)				*Maths 2 Unit*				*Maths 3 Unit*				*HSC aggregate*			
Sample description	*Mean*	*SD*	*N*	*% Gp*	*Mean*	*SD*	*N*	*% Gp*	*Mean*	*SD*	*N*	*% Gp*	*Mean*	*SD*	*N*	*% Gp*
Total sample	30.0	14.6	252	28	45.0	20.0	486	54	93.5	27.5	168	19	254.9	85.5	973	100
Sex: Male	32.4	15.4	98	23	46.2	21.0	235	56	89.7	29.8	86	21	248.5	87.4	430	100
Female	28.5	14.0	154	32	44.0	19.0	251	52	97.4	24.5	82	17	259.9	83.8	543	100
Parents' country of birth:																
Both Australian	33.6	14.1	118	25	46.6	19.7	248	53	91.9	28.2	99	21	262.3	80.7	499	100
Both non-English-speaking countries	24.3	13.1	73	31	41.3	19.6	124	53	91.4	27.9	36	15	239.2	91.5	254	100
Another or different English-speaking countries	29.7	14.8	45	29	46.6	21.8	81	53	96.0	25.0	27	18	255.8	85.4	169	100
One parent English-speaking other non-English-speaking country	33.9	18.3	11	25	43.5	18.8	27	61	119.7	11.0	6	14	256.8	93.3	51	100

(a) 2 Unit A is a modified form of the 2 Unit course. 2 Unit A, and 2 Unit courses are marked out of 100; 3 Unit courses are marked out of 150.

DIAGRAM 20

PERCENTAGE ENROLLED IN HSC MATHEMATICS CLASS BY LEVEL

All students by parents' country of birth

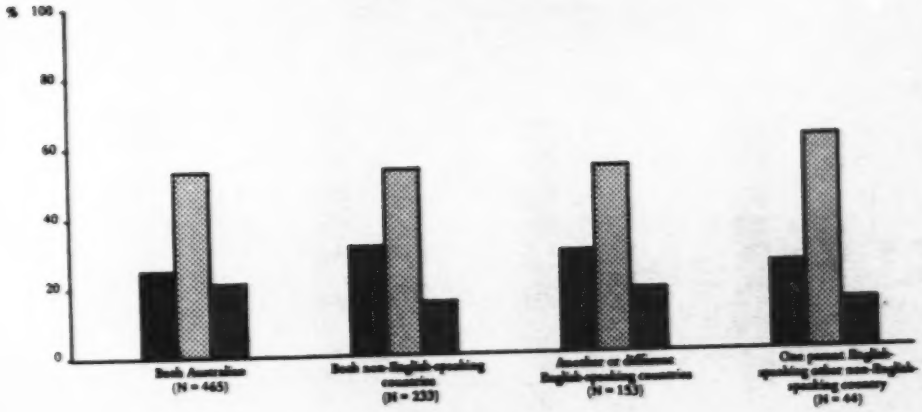


DIAGRAM 21

MEAN HSC RESULTS — MATHEMATICS

All students by parents' country of birth

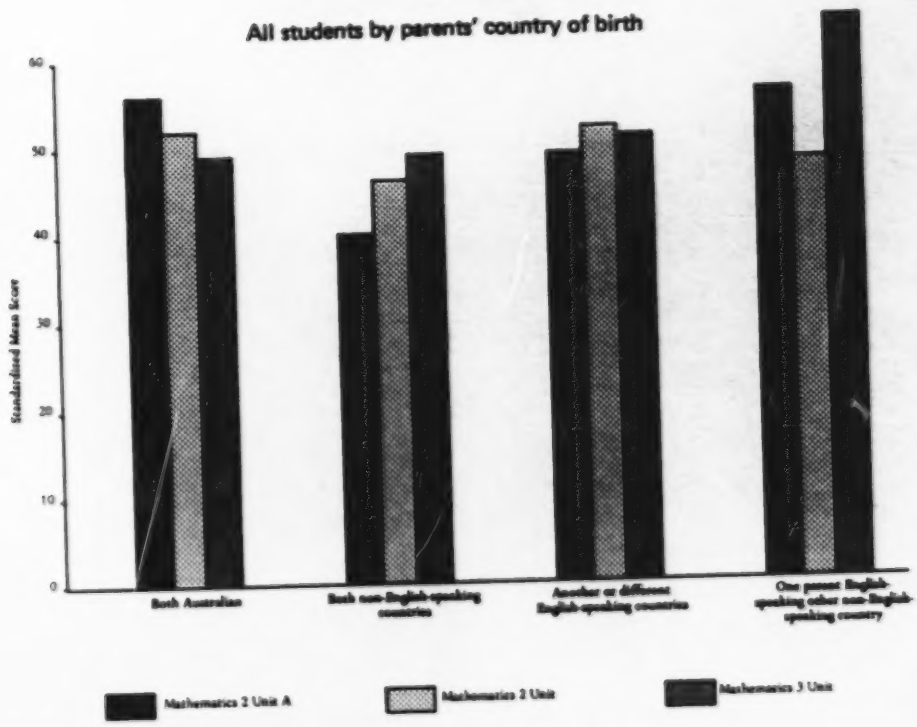


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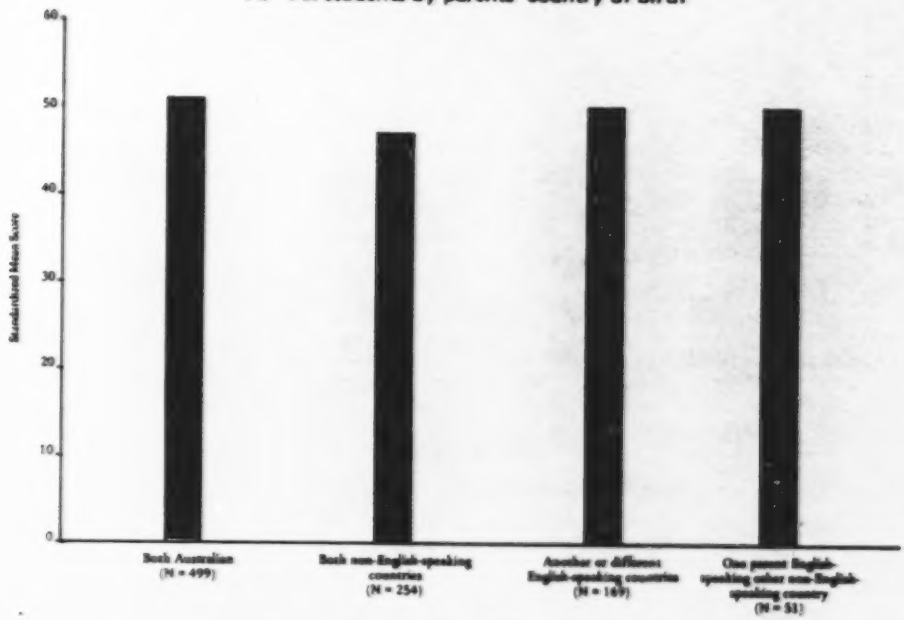
DIAGRAM 22

MEAN HIGHER SCHOOL CERTIFICATE AGGREGATES

A. All students by parents' country of birth



B. Students with both parents born in selected non-English-speaking countries

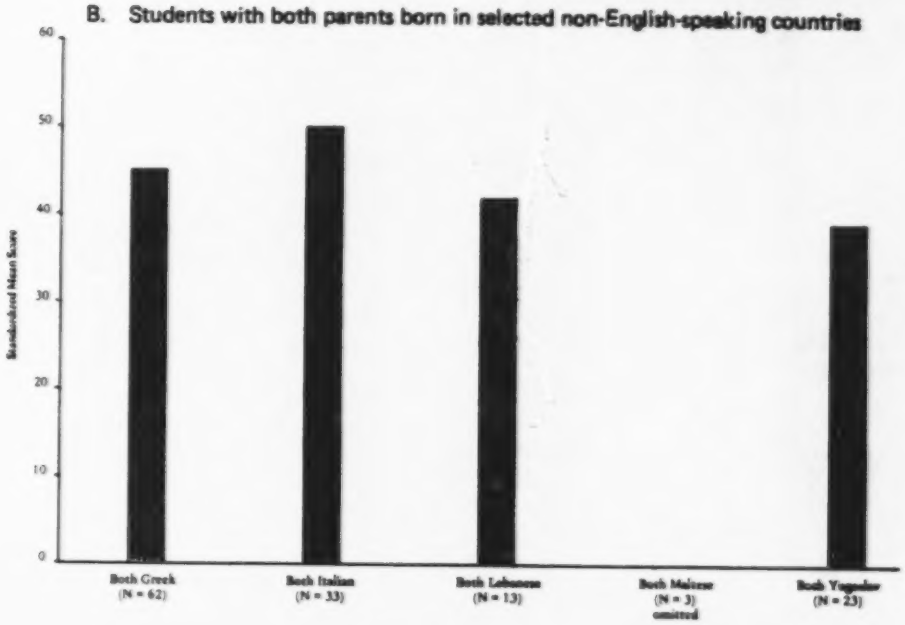


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Table 49

MEAN HIGHER SCHOOL CERTIFICATE RESULTS—AGGREGATE

Students with both parents born in non-English-speaking countries

	HSC aggregate		
Parents' country of birth	*Mean*	*SD*	*N*
Both Greek	231.5	89.1	62
Both Italian	255.7	80.8	33
Both Lebanese	214.4	111.2	13
Both Maltese	365.7	100.8	3
Both Yugoslav	196.9	78.4	23
Another non-English-speaking country (both same)	242.3	95.5	87
Different non-English-speaking countries	256.9	82.3	33
Total NES	239.2	91.5	254

involved, the average HSC results ranged from 256.9 for the group of students with parents born in different NES countries (closely followed by the Italian with an average score of 255.7) to a score of 196.9 for the Yugoslav students (one of the groups with a high proportion of recent arrivals).

Work and study destinations of school leavers

Table 50 and Diagram 23 show the destinations of school leavers in terms of work and further study.[13] In general, school leavers completed the leavers' questionnaire within 6 months of leaving school. In the total leaver sample, considerable differences were revealed in the destination patterns of boys and girls. Over four-fifths of the boys entered full-time employment compared with just over half of the girls. On the other hand, over one-third of the girls entered some form of full-time study whereas less than one-tenth of the boys were so engaged.

The actual further educational courses attended by school leavers are summarised as follows (Table 51 and Diagram 23). Over 40 per cent of the boys were engaged in apprenticeship courses compared with only 4 per cent of the girls. On the other hand, almost one-third of the girls who left school entered a full-time secretarial course while only a few boys took this option. Over half (51 per cent) of the girls whose parents were born in NES countries entered a full-time secretarial course compared with 26 per cent of girls with Australian-born parents and 29 per cent with parents born in overseas ES countries. Overall, about one-half of boys and girls did not enter any course of study. However, there was one marked variation from this general pattern—36 per cent of girls of NES origin did not enter any course compared with 55 per cent of girls with Australian-born parents and 54 per cent of girls with parents born in ES overseas countries.

When the results are examined for the overall sample for each accreditation level (Table 50) it is apparent that the level of SC results had little influence on whether or not students entered a full-time job or course of study. There were 44 per cent of the boys with high SC results who left school who entered full-time work and undertook no further studies. Another 29 per cent of these boys entered full-time employment and studied part time. The comparative figures for boys with medium SC results were 29 per cent and 54 per cent. It appears that many of the academically capable boys who left school were 'turned off' further study.

13. An analysis of reasons for leaving school was undertaken in Report No. 2 (see Meade, 1981).

Table 50A

WORK AND STUDY DESTINATIONS OF SCHOOL LEAVERS PRIOR TO HSC

Total leaver sample

	Work and study destinations of school leavers								
	Work	*Full-time*	*Full-time*	*Nil*	*Nil*	*Other*	*Full-time*	*All*	*Total*
	Study	*Nil*	*Part-time*	*Full-time*	*Nil*	*Other*	*All*	*Full-time*	*Total*
Accreditation	*N*	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Total leaver sample									
High SC	159	45	19	22	7	7	(65)	(26)	100
Medium SC	285	35	35	20	4	6	(73)	(22)	100
Low SC	390	36	29	19	10	6	(56)	(21)	100
Before SC	167	67	22	..	..	11	(97)	(10)	100
Total	1 001	42	28	16	6	8	(73)	(20)	100
Sex: Male									
High SC	48	44	29	4	15	8	(73)	(4)	100
Medium SC	133	29	54	5	5	7	(89)	(11)	100
Low SC	178	35	49	1	8	7	(87)	(2)	100
Before SC	80	64	31	..	..	5	(98)	(3)	100
Total	439	39	45	2	6	7	(88)	(5)	100
Sex: Female									
High SC	111	46	14	30	4	6	(61)	(35)	100
Medium SC	152	41	18	33	2	6	(59)	(36)	100
Low SC	212	36	11	34	12	7	(48)	(37)	100
Before SC	87	69	14	..	..	17	(97)	(16)	100
Total	562	44	14	28	6	8	(61)	(33)	100

Table 50B

WORK AND STUDY DESTINATIONS OF SCHOOL LEAVERS PRIOR TO HSC

Students with both parents born in Australia

	Work and study destinations of school leavers								
	Work	*Full-time*	*Full-time*	*Nil*	*Nil*	*Other*	*Full-time*	*All*	*Total*
	Study	*Nil*	*Part-time*	*Full-time*	*Nil*	*Other*	*All*	*Full-time*	*Total*
Accreditation	*N*	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Leaver sample									
High SC	118	48	19	20	7	6	(68)	(23)	100
Medium SC	191	33	38	18	3	8	(74)	(23)	100
Low SC	212	43	29	13	9	6	(73)	(16)	100
Before SC	87	77	20	..	..	3	(98)	(1)	100
Total	608	46	29	14	5	7	(76)	(17)	100
Sex: Male									
High SC	38	42	29	3	16	10	(71)	(3)	100
Medium SC	87	28	60	1	3	8	(94)	(8)	100
Low SC	98	39	51	..	5	5	(91)	(1)	100
Before SC	40	70	25	..	..	5	(95)	(0)	100
Total	263	40	47	1	5	7	(90)	(3)	100
Sex: Female									
High SC	80	51	14	28	3	4	(66)	(33)	100
Medium SC	104	38	20	32	2	8	(58)	(35)	100
Low SC	114	46	11	24	12	7	(58)	(28)	100
Before SC	47	83	15	..	..	2	(100)	(2)	100
Total	345	50	15	24	5	7	(66)	(28)	100

Table 50C

WORK AND STUDY DESTINATIONS OF SCHOOL LEAVERS PRIOR TO HSC

Students with both parents born in non-English-speaking countries

	Work and study destinations of school leavers								
	Work	*Full-time*	*Full-time*	*Nil*	*Nil*	*Other*	*Full-time*	*All*	*Total*
	Study	*Nil*	*Part-time*	*Full-time*	*Nil*	*Other*	*All*	*Full-time*	*Total*
Accreditation	*N*	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Leaver sample									
High SC	14	29	21	43	7	..	(50)	(43)	100
Medium SC	43	30	21	35	9	5	(53)	(40)	100
Low SC	88	21	27	35	9	8	(49)	(37)	100
Before SC	34	47	24	..	..	29	(94)	(26)	100
Total	179	28	25	29	7	11	(59)	(36)	100
Sex: Male									
High SC	3	..	67(*a*)	33(*a*)	..	..	(67)	(33)	100
Medium SC	21	29	33	14	19	5	(62)	(19)	100
Low SC	38	24	53	..	13	10	(79)	(3)	100
Before SC	13	54	46	..	..	..	(100)	(0)	100
Total	75	29	47	5	12	7	(79)	(8)	100
Sex: Female									
High SC	11	36	9	46	9	..	(46)	(46)	100
Medium SC	22	32	9	55	..	4	(41)	(59)	100
Low SC	50	18	8	62	6	6	(26)	(64)	100
Before SC	21	43	10	..	0	47	(91)	(43)	100
Total	104	28	9	46	4	13	(44)	(56)	100

(*a*) Total number less than 5.

Table 50D

WORK AND STUDY DESTINATIONS OF SCHOOL LEAVERS PRIOR TO HSC

Students with both parents born in another or different English-speaking countries

	Work and study destinations of school leavers								
	Work	*full-time*	*Full-time*	*Nil*	*Nil*	*Other*	*Full-time*	*All*	*Total*
	Study	*Nil*	*Part-time*	*Full-time*	*Nil*	*Other*	*All*	*Full-time*	*Total*
Accreditation	*N*	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Leaver sample									
High SC	22	41	18	23	5	13	(59)	(32)	100
Medium SC	37	41	35	16	3	5	(78)	(19)	100
Low SC	67	34	25	19	16	6	(60)	(9)	100
Before SC	28	71	18	..	..	11	(100)	(11)	100
Total	154	44	25	16	8	7	(71)	(19)	100
Sex: Male									
High SC	5	60	20	..	20	..	(80)	(..)	100
Medium SC	19	26	53	11	..	10	(84)	(16)	100
Low SC	31	39	39	3	13	6	(77)	(3)	100
Before SC	18	67	22	..	..	11	(100)	(11)	100
Total	73	44	37	4	7	8	(85)	(8)	100
Sex: Female									
High SC	17	35	18	29	..	18	(53)	(41)	100
Medium SC	18	56	17	22	6	..	(74)	(22)	100
Low SC	36	31	14	33	19	3	(45)	(33)	100
Before SC	10	80	10	..	..	10	(100)	(10)	100
Total	81	43	15	26	10	6	(59)	(30)	100

DIAGRAM 23

WORK AND STUDY DESTINATIONS OF SCHOOL LEAVERS PRIOR TO HSC

All students by parents' country of birth

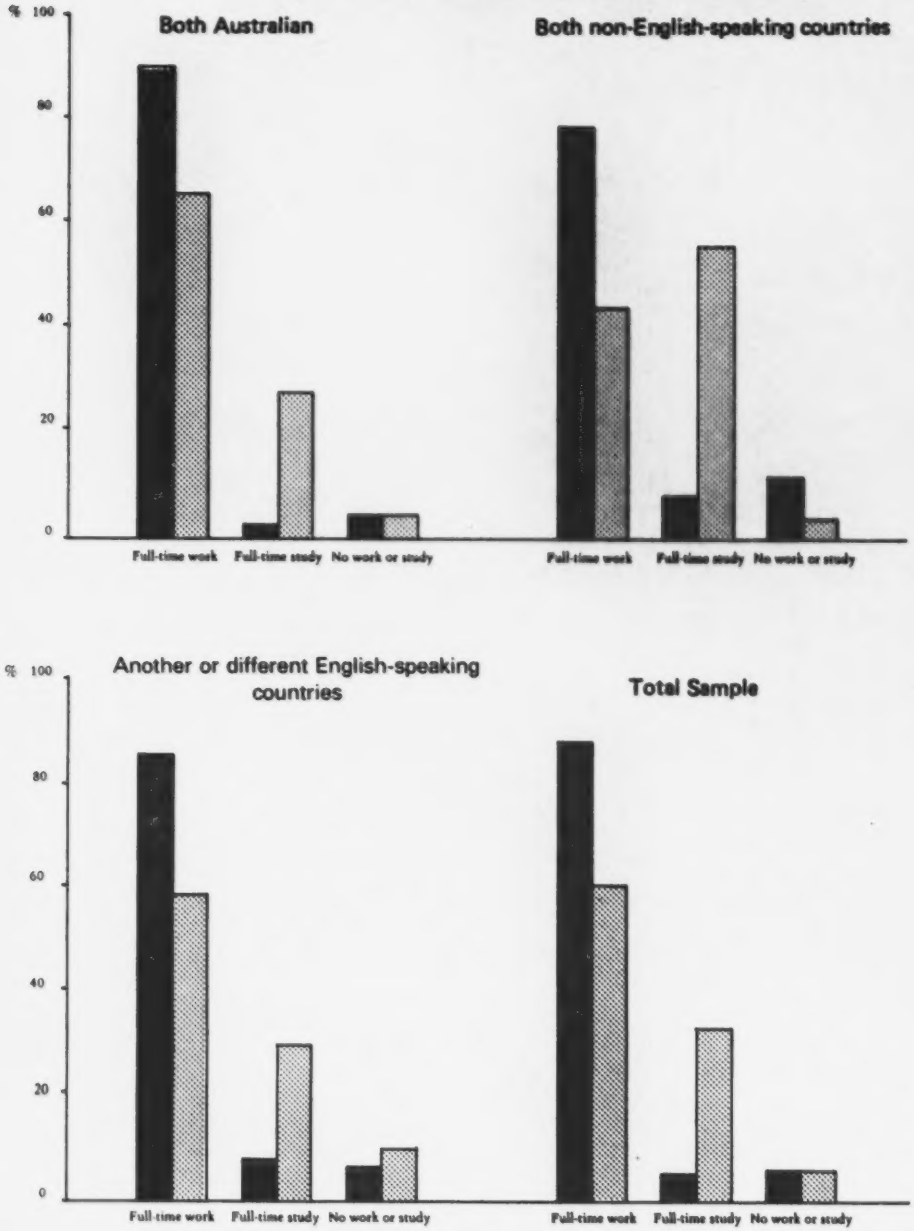

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Table 51

FURTHER EDUCATIONAL COURSES TAKEN BY SCHOOL LEAVERS

All students by parents' country of birth

	Percentage distribution of those studying											
	N		*Apprenticeship courses*		*Full-time secretarial courses*		*Other full-time courses (a)*		*Other part-time courses*		*No course*	
Sample description	*Male*	*Female*	*Male*	*Female*	*Male*	*Female*	*Male*	*Female*	*Male*	*Female*	*Male*	*Female*
Total sample	460	590(a)	42	4	..	30	2	2	7	13	48	51
Parents' country of birth:												
Both Australian	274	357	46	3	..	26	1	3	6	13	47	55
Both non-English-speaking countries	81	110	40	1	3	51	3	3	11	9	44	34
Another or different English-speaking countries	76	89	30	5	..	29	7	2	5	10	57	54
One parent English-speaking other non-English-speaking country	17	23	41	22	..	4	6	4	12	13	41	57

(a) Thirty-three per cent of the higher SES school leaver girls took full-time secretarial courses compared with 24 per cent of the lower SES girl school leavers. This is reflected in percentages taking no further courses. There were no SES differences for boys.

In comparing the results for students classified by parents' country of birth, further variations in the patterns of employment and further study emerge. Higher proportions of the boys with Australian and overseas-born ES origin parents gained full-time employment compared with the group of NES origin boys (40 per cent and 44 per cent compared with 29 per cent). Similar trends occurred in the employment results for girls (50 per cent and 43 per cent compared with 28 per cent). On the other hand, a higher proportion of the NES origin girls entered full-time study compared with the girls with Australian-born and overseas-born ES parents (46 per cent compared with 24 per cent and 26 per cent).

CHAPTER 6

Characteristics of groups of students with different accreditation levels

INTRODUCTION

A traditional concern in sociology is to secure a more or less perfect relationship between measured ability, educational opportunity and performance. Aspirations and motivation are intervening variables in this context. The longitudinal design of the study enabled the sequence of IQ, aspiration, and accreditation level achieved to be followed for each student. This process allowed an examination to be made of the equality of educational opportunity experienced by various groups of students of interest in the study, e.g. migrant children of NES origin. Theoretically, inequality of educational opportunity may be said to occur when high IQ students with aspirations to complete the HSC are forced by factors outside of their control and for which they are not responsible to abandon their aspirations and leave school before completing the HSC. In reality, equality of opportunity considerations are more complex because of the interrelationship among the social and other variables which influence decision making. For example, several of the high IQ students in our earlier example may aspire to leave school before the SC because they judge that their parents are financially unable to continue to support them. They make realistic choices in terms of external limitations outside of their control and responsibility. Under ideal circumstances such students may have chosen to remain at school. These students may be experiencing inequality of educational opportunity in the strict sense but would not be identified by our data.

In the first section of this chapter the sample is divided into three broad accreditation levels—'remained to the HSC', 'left after SC but before HSC' and 'left before the SC'—with a view to identifying factors which clearly discriminate among the three groups. In the second section, an attempt is made to tie together the longitudinal data on individual students and relate these data to the tenets of the institutional ideology. Factors found to discriminate among accreditation levels in the first analysis are also discussed in the context of the institutional ideology.

Factors which discriminate among accreditation levels

The 'institutional ideology' has been previously defined as a reality-defining and confirming institution. The accreditation of children which in turn influences their life chances is one system which grows out of this ideology. It has been postulated in this study that the processes the school uses to conduct the accreditation exercise results in bright children being given every opportunity and encouragement to aspire high and do well. Concurrently, the school tries to ensure that less bright children reach a minimum level of competence in literacy and numeracy and steers them away from unrealistic educational and occupational goals.

Table 52 shows that there were marked variations in the average IQ rating (measured in Grade 9) of those who remained in school in comparison with the SC leavers and those who left before the SC (116 compared with 104 and 95 respectively). An examination of SES distributions for each of the three accreditation levels reveals that the SES composition of those who remained to the HSC is biased towards the higher SES levels with a reverse result occurring for those who left before the SC. It is also apparent from the results for students' and parents' aspirations that sizeable proportions of students and parents 'go along with' the conceptions of the institutional ideology. Finally, it can be deduced from the table that students who remain to the

Table 52

CROSS-TABULATION BETWEEN ACCREDITATION AND SELECTED VARIABLES (*a*)

Variable	*Sample description*	*Left before SC (N = 253)*	*Left after SC but before HSC (N = 1727)*	*Remained to HSC (N = 986)*
IQ	Total	mean = 95; SD = 14.9	mean = 104; SD = 14.1	mean = 116; SD = 13.1
	Students of NES origin	mean = 86; SD = 12.6	mean = 96; SD = 13.2	mean = 108; SD = 13.9
SES	Total	Biased towards lower SES status categories	All status categories proportionally represented	Biased towards upper SES status categories
	Students of NES origin	As above	As above	As above
Student high school aspiration	Total	32% aspired to leave at this stage; 12% aspired to the HSC	63% aspired to leave at this stage; 35% aspired to the HSC	89% aspired to remain to the HSC
	Students of NES origin	51% aspired to leave, 13% aspired to the HSC	55% aspired to leave, 44% aspired to the HSC	92% aspired to remain to the HSC
Parents' high school aspirations for their child	Total	59% aspired to leave, 4% aspired to the HSC	54% aspired to leave, 41% aspired to the HSC	96% aspired to remain to the HSC
	Students of NES origin	31% aspired to leave, 8% aspired to the HSC	48% aspired to leave, 49% aspired to the HSC	97% aspired to remain to the HSC
Percentage reporting mother disappointment if no HSC (Grade 10)	Total	Not available	27%	76%
	Students of NES origin	Not available	43%	87%

Percentage reporting teacher encouragement to remain at school after SC (Grade 9 and 10)	Total	Gr.9 = 18%;	Gr.10 = 4%	Gr.9 = 22%;	Gr.10 = 24%	Gr.9 = 30%;	Gr.10 = 45%
	Students of NES origin	Gr.9 = 29%	Gr.10 = . .	Gr.9 = 28%	Gr.10 = 27%	Gr.9 = 30%;	Gr.10 = 45%
Student post-high school educational aspirations	Total	Uni or CAE = 6%	Tech = 64%	Uni or CAE = 20%;	Tech = 66%	Uni or CAE = 67%;	Tech = 29%
	Students of NES origin	Uni or CAE = 10%	Tech = 74%	Uni or CAE = 25%	Tech = 61%	Uni or CAE = 68%;	Tech = 30%
Parents' post-high school educational aspirations for their child	Total	Uni or CAE = 2%	Tech = 67%	Uni or CAE = 20%;	Tech = 58%	Uni or CAE = 70%;	Tech = 11%
	Students of NES origin	Uni or CAE = . .	Tech = 69%	Uni or CAE = 27%	Tech = 56%	Uni or CAE = 68%;	Tech = 9%
Percentage interested in most or all school subjects (Grade 9)	Total	51%		63%		82%	
	Students of NES origin	50%		70%		85%	
Percentage studying 6 hours and over per week (Grade 9 and 10)	Total	Gr.9 = 19%;	Gr.10 = 17%	Gr.9 = 32%;	Gr.10 = 40%	Gr.9 = 51%;	Gr.10 = 62%
	Students of NES orgin	Gr.9 = 29%	Gr.10 = 50%	Gr.9 = 40%	Gr.10 = 54%	Gr.9 = 62%	Gr.10 = 73%
Percentage watching over 10 hours TV in a school week (Grade 10)	Total	100%		71%		65%	
	Students of NES origin	100%		68%		63%	

(a) For details, see Appendix J, Tables 45–56.

HSC tend to be more interested in their schoolwork, spend more time studying and less time watching TV in comparison with their peers who leave school directly after completing the SC and those who leave before the SC.

The results from the group of students whose parents were born overseas in NES countries are also shown separately for comparison. In terms of relationships between levels of accreditation and the selected variables shown, similar trends to those described above for the total sample occurred.

Realisation of aspirations of the HSC

Approximately one-third of students aspired to the HSC in Grades 9 and/or 10 and achieved their aspiration. Proportionally more students from ES/NES and NES origin groups were in this category in comparison with students whose parents were born in an overseas ES country or Australia (41 per cent and 39 per cent compared with 34 per cent and 29 per cent) (Diagram 24). Approximately one-quarter of the total sample aspired to the HSC but did not stay on at school to gain it. Twenty-eight per cent of the NES origin migrant students were in this category compared with 24 per cent of the children with Australian-born parents, 24 per cent of the ES origin migrant children and 20 per cent of the ES/NES group. Only 1 per cent of the total sample did not aspire to remain at school to the HSC in Grade 9 and/or Grade 10 but subsequently stayed on to the HSC. Diagram 24 shows that considerable variations occurred in the results among the ethnic subgroups, e.g. over half of the Greek students aspired to and achieved the HSC; further, more than one-third of Lebanese students aspired to the HSC but did not gain it.

Consistency of student educational aspirations with IQ and accreditation

In an attempt to tie together the longitudinal data on individual students a set of 16 profiles was developed (Table 53) which classify all students according to three measures: whether they aspired in Grade 9 or Grade 10, or both, to continue to the HSC (2 categories); their qualitative and quantitative IQ measured in Grade 9 (2 categories—high or medium and low); the accreditation with which they left school (4 categories—high or medium HSC, low HSC, high SC, medium SC or lower). It should be emphasised that these profiles have not been constructed simply because they make sense to us. On the contrary, they represent, we believe—in summarised form—a set of judgments that students, parents and teachers see as meaningfully interdependent. They provide us with a precise tool to test propositions developed under the umbrella of the institutional ideology.

The set of 16 profiles (Table 53) were reduced to six groups for further analysis:

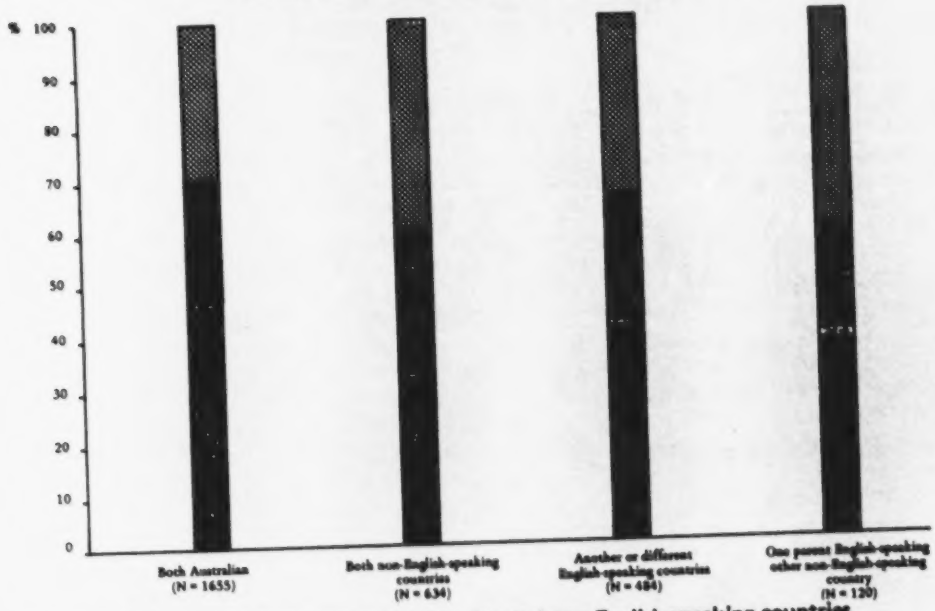
	Group number (Table 54[1] and Diagram 25)
(a) Students classified in Rows 1 and 2 (836 students) fit the behaviour pattern outlined by the institutional ideology whereby the school ensures that the bright children are motivated to leave school accredited to enter tertiary institutions, i.e. they *gained the HSC* and their *aspiration to the HSC was consistent with IQ* (high or medium IQ, range 100–135).	*Group 1* (28 per cent of students)

1. The mean and standard deviation IQ results for each row in Table 54 are shown in Table 57, Appendix K.

DIAGRAM 24

REALISATION OF ASPIRATION FOR HIGHER SCHOOL CERTIFICATE

A. All students by parents' country of birth



B. Students with both parents born in selected non-English-speaking countries

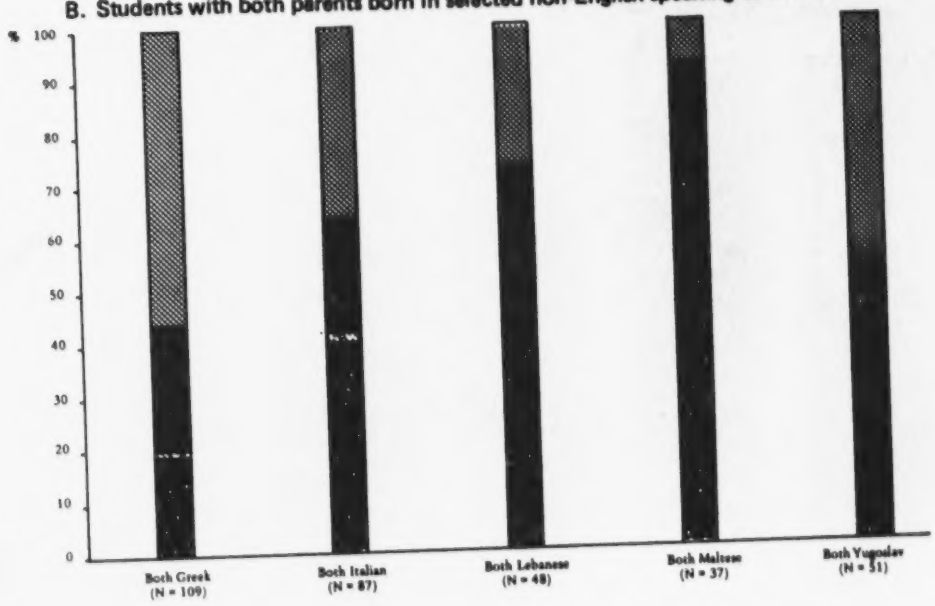


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Table 53

SUMMARY OF CONSISTENCY OF STUDENT EDUCATIONAL ASPIRATIONS WITH IQ AND ACCREDITATION, BY PARENTS' COUNTRY OF BIRTH

Group N	Aspire to HSC (a)	Linguistic and quantitative IQ (ML & MQ) (b)	Consistency of aspiration response with IQ (ML & MQ)	Accreditation (c)	Total sample		Male		Female		Parents' country of birth: Both Australian		Both non-English-speaking countries		Another or different English-speaking countries		One parent English-speaking other non-English-speaking	
					N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
1	Yes	High or medium	Consistently high	High or medium HSC	631	21	270	19	361	23	349	21	133	21	115	24	26	22
2	Yes	High or medium	Consistently high	Low HSC	205	7	116	8	89	6	110	7	39	6	37	8	15	13
3	Yes	High or medium	Consistently high	High SC	208	7	80	6	128	8	136	8	24	4	38	8	6	5
4	Yes	High or medium	Consistently high	Medium SC or lower	310	11	183	13	127	8	185	11	49	8	61	13	9	8
5	No	High or medium	Inconsistently low	High or medium HSC	9	.3	6	.4	3	.2	6	.4	1	.2	..	..	2	2
6	No	High or medium	Inconsistently low	Low HSC	12	.4	5	.4	7	.5	9	.5	2	.3	1	.2	..	..
7	No	High or medium	Inconsistently low	High SC	101	3	30	2	71	5	80	5	9	1	9	2	3	3
8	No	High or medium	Inconsistently low	Medium SC or lower	538	18	269	19	269	17	357	22	44	7	99	20	25	21
9	Yes	Low	Inconsistently high	High or medium HSC	34	1	8	.6	26	2	3	.2	25	4	1	.2	5	4
10	Yes	Low	Inconsistently high	Low HSC	87	3	30	2	57	4	18	1	51	8	14	3	3	3
11	Yes	Low	Inconsistently high	High SC	7	.2	3	.2	4	.3	3	.2	3	.5	1	.2	..	..
12	Yes	Low	Inconsistently high	Medium SC or lower	216	7	108	8	108	7	79	5	102	16	16	3	9	8

13	No	Low	Consistently low	High or medium HSC	2	.1	1	.1	1	.1	2	.1	..	..	..	..	..	..
14	No	Low	Consistently low	Low HSC	5	.2	2	.1	3	.2	1	.1	2	.3	1	.2	..	..
15	No	Low	Consistently low	High SC	2	.1	2	.1	..	..	2	.1	..	..	..	..	..	..
16	No	Low	Consistently low	Medium SC	595	20	295	21	300	19	315	19	150	24	91	19	17	14
	Grand total				2 962	100	1 408	100	1 554	100	1 655	100	634	100	484	100	120	100

(*a*) Relates to students aspiring to HSC in either Grade 9 or Grade 10 or both.
(*b*) High ML and MQ (115–135) medium ML and MQ (100–114), low ML and MQ (below 100).
(*c*) High HSC (298–489), medium HSC (212–297), low HSC (below 212), high SC (4 to 6 subjects taken at 'advanced level'), medium SC (1 to 3 subjects taken at 'advanced level'), low SC (all subjects taken at 'ordinary' level or some combination of 'ordinary' and 'modified').

(b) Students classified in Rows 9 and 10 (121 students) challenged the institutional ideology, i.e. they *gained the HSC* but their *aspiration to the HSC was inconsistent with IQ* (low IQ, range 99 or less). — *Group 2* (4 per cent of students)

(c) Students classified in Rows 3 and 4 (518 students) did not fit the behaviour pattern outlined by the institutional ideology, i.e. they *did not gain the HSC* although their *aspiration to the HSC was consistent with IQ* (high or medium IQ). — *Group 3* (18 per cent of students)

(d) Students classified in Rows 11 and 12 (223 students) did not fit the behaviour pattern outlined by the institutional ideology, i.e. they *did not gain the HSC* and their *aspiration to the HSC was inconsistent with IQ* (low IQ). — *Group 4* (8 per cent of students)

(e) Students classified in Rows 7 and 8 (639 students) did not fit the behaviour pattern outlined by the institutional ideology, i.e. they *did not gain the HSC* and their *aspiration not to attend the HSC was inconsistent with IQ* (high or medium IQ). — *Group 5* (22 per cent of students)

(f) Students classified in Rows 15 and 16 fit the behaviour pattern outlined by the institutional ideology whereby the less bright are steered away from unrealistic goals, i.e. they *did not gain the HSC* and their *aspiration not to attend the HSC was consistent with IQ* (low IQ). — *Group 6* (20 per cent of students)

In view of the small number of students in Rows 5, 6, 13 and 14 (28 students) these classifications were deleted from further analysis.

To summarise, students classified in Groups 1 and 6 (48 per cent of students) fit the behaviour pattern outlined by the institutional ideology while in Groups 2 to 5 (52 per cent of students) a 'mismatch' has occurred in the IQ/aspiration/accreditation chain:

(a) Students in Groups 2 and 4 have challenged the institutional ideology by aspiring high in spite of a low IQ as measured by tests. Students in Group 2 achieved this aspiration; those in Group 4 did not.

(b) Students in Group 3 may have reversed their previously stated aspiration to stay on at school (i.e. and more correctly fall into Group 5) or they may have met some barrier (e.g. family financial hardship) which frustrated their plans to complete the HSC and in the process suffered some measure of inequality of educational opportunity.

(c) Students in Group 5 did not follow the path for higher IQ students postulated on the basis of institutional ideology.

Consistency index and parents' country of birth

There were no major variations apparent in Groups 1 and 6 among the proportions of students from the four groups based on parents' country of birth, i.e. 'both Australian', 'both NES', 'both overseas-born ES', 'ES/NES' (See Table 54 and Diagram 25). However, in comparison, a slightly higher proportion of the NES group had consistently low aspirations and left school (Group 6).

Table 54A

COMPOSITION OF SAMPLE BY CONSISTENCY INDEX RESULTING FROM MULTIVARIATE ANALYSIS

All students by parents' country of birth

Group N	Consistency of aspiration with linguistic and quantitative IQ (L & MQ)	Have gained HSC	N in category		Male		Female		Parents' country of birth: Both Australian		Both non-English-speaking countries		Another or different English-speaking countries		One parent English-speaking other non-English-speaking country	
			N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
1	Consistently high aspiration: high or medium IQ aspired to HSC	yes	836	28	386	28	450	29	459	28	172	27	152	32	41	35
2	Inconsistently high aspiration: low IQ aspired to HSC	yes	121	4	38	3	83	5	21	1	76	12	15	3	8	7
3	Consistently high aspiration: high or medium IQ aspired to HSC	no	518	18	263	19	255	17	321	20	73	12	99	21	15	13
4	Inconsistently high aspiration: low IQ aspired to HSC	no	223	8	111	8	112	7	82	5	105	17	17	4	9	8
5	Inconsistently low aspiration: high or medium IQ did not aspire to HSC	no	639	22	299	21	340	22	437	27	53	8	108	22	28	24
6	Consistently low aspiration: low IQ did not aspire to HSC	no	597	20	296	21	301	20	317	19	150	24	91	19	17	14
	Total		2 934(*a*)	100	1 393	100	1 541	100	1 637	100	629	100	482	100	118	100

(*a*) This table was developed by collating categories in Table 53; 30 students who did not fit these 6 categories have been excluded.

Table 54B

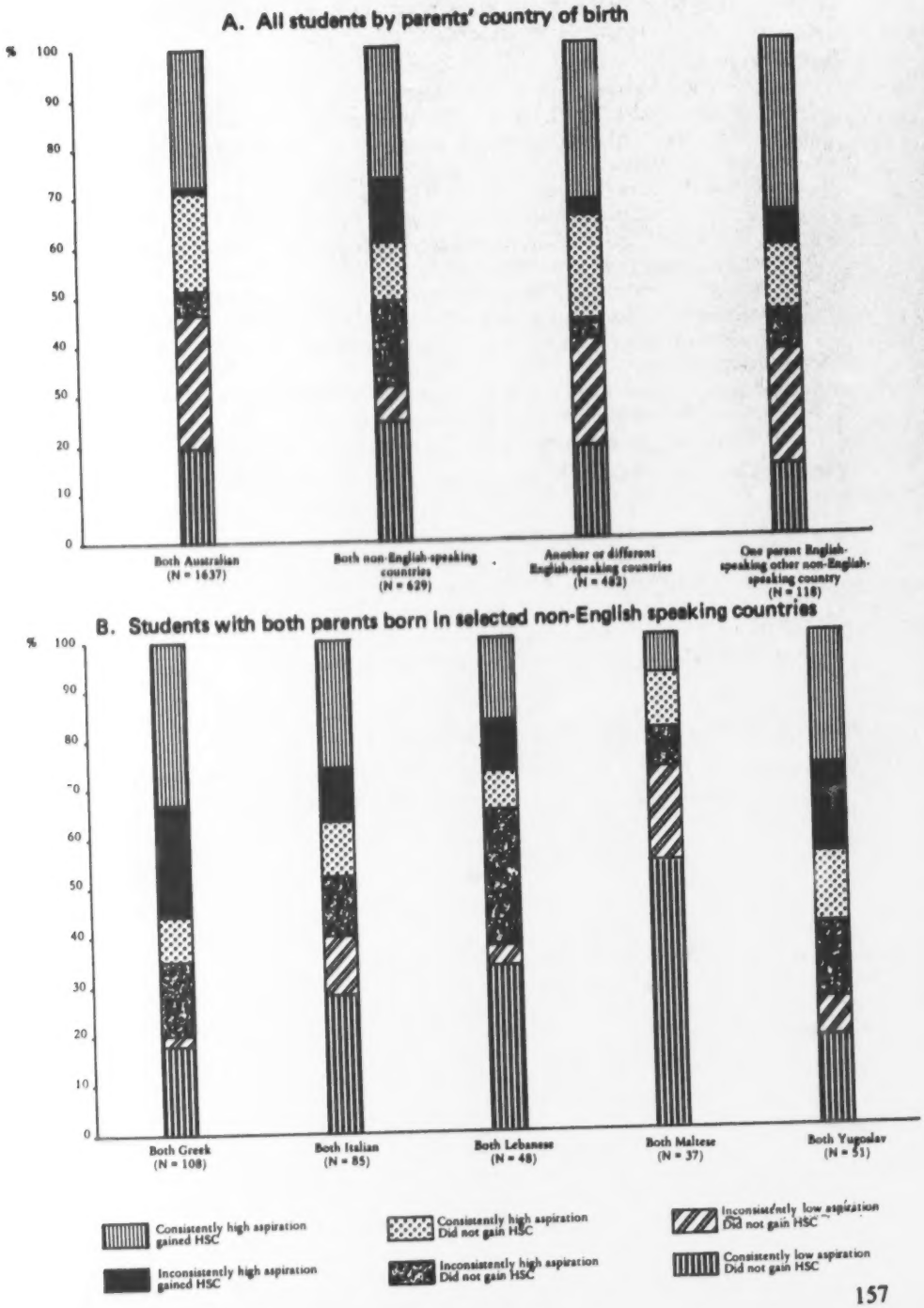
COMPOSITION OF SAMPLE BY CONSISTENCY INDEX RESULTING FROM MULTIVARIATE ANALYSIS

Students with both parents born in non-English-speaking countries

			Parents' country of birth															
			Both Greek		*Both Italian*		*Both Lebanese*		*Both Maltese*		*Both Yugoslav*		*Another NES country (both same)*		*Different NES countries*		*Total NES*	
Group N	*Consistency of aspiration with linguistic and quantitative IQ (ML & MQ)*	*Have gained HSC*	*N*	*%*	*N*	*%*	*N*	*%*	*N*	*%*	*N*	*%*	*N*	*%*	*N*	*%*	*N*	*%*
1	Consistently high aspiration: high or medium IQ aspired to HSC	yes	36	33	22	26	8	17	3	8	14	27	65	29	24	30	172	27
2	Inconsistently high aspiration: low IQ aspired to HSC	yes	25	23	9	11	5	10	..	..	9	18	19	9	9	11	76	12
3	Consistently high aspiration: high or medium IQ aspired to HSC	no	10	9	9	11	4	8	4	11	7	14	28	13	11	14	73	12
4	Inconsistently high aspiration: low IQ aspired to HSC	no	16	15	10	12	13	27	3	8	8	16	47	21	8	10	105	17
5	Inconsistently low aspiration: high or medium IQ did not aspire to HSC	no	2	2	10	12	2	4	7	19	4	8	18	8	10	13	53	8
6	Consistently low aspiration: low IQ did not aspire to HSC	no	19	18	25	29	16	33	20	54	9	18	44	20	17	22	150	24
	Total NES		108	100	85	100	48	100	37	100	51	100	221	100	79	100	629	100

DIAGRAM 25

CONSISTENCY INDEX RESULTING FROM MULTIVARIATE ANALYSIS


A. All students by parents' country of birth
%
100
90
80
70
60
50
40
30
20
10
0
Both Australian (N = 1637)
Both non-English-speaking countries (N = 629)
Another or different English-speaking countries (N = 482)
One parent English-speaking other non-English-speaking country (N = 118)
B. Students with both parents born in selected non-English speaking countries
Both Greek (N = 108)
Both Italian (N = 85)
Both Lebanese (N = 48)
Both Maltese (N = 37)
Both Yugoslav (N = 51)
Consistently high aspiration gained HSC
Consistently high aspiration Did not gain HSC
Inconsistently low aspiration Did not gain HSC
Inconsistently high aspiration gained HSC
Inconsistently high aspiration Did not gain HSC
Consistently low aspiration Did not gain HSC

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Variations did occur, however, in the proportion of students in Groups 1 and 6 among the ethnic subgroups. In particular, Lebanese and Maltese students were under-represented in Group 1 and over-represented in Group 6.

Children with NES origin parents exhibited difference 'mismatch' patterns in Groups 2 to 5 from the remainder of the sample:

(a) In Group 2 proportionally more students in the NES origin migrant group had inconsistently high aspirations and gained the HSC in comparison with the proportion of students in the Australian-born parent, ES migrant parent and ES/NES parent groups (12 per cent compared with 1 per cent, 3 per cent and 7 per cent respectively).

(b) In Group three proportionally fewer students in the NES origin migrant group had consistently high aspirations but did not follow through and gain the HSC in comparison with the three latter groups (12 per cent compared with 20 per cent, 21 per cent and 13 per cent respectively).

(c) In Group 4 proportionally more students in the NES origin migrant group had inconsistently high aspirations but failed to gain the HSC in comparison with the latter three groups (17 per cent compared with 5 per cent, 4 per cent and 8 per cent respectively).

(d) In Group 5 proportionally fewer students in the NES origin migrant group had inconsistently low aspirations and did not gain the HSC (8 per cent compared with 27 per cent, 22 per cent and 24 per cent respectively).

Variations also occurred in the distribution patterns among ethnic subgroups. For example:

(a) In Group 2 proportionally more students of Greek (23 per cent) and Yugoslav (18 per cent) origins had inconsistently high aspirations and gained the HSC.

(b) In Group 4 there were proportionally more students of Lebanese origin (27 per cent) who had inconsistently high aspirations but failed to gain the HSC.

(c) There were proportionally more students of Maltese origin (19 per cent) who had inconsistently low aspirations and did not gain the HSC.

Consistency studies and students' country of birth

The percentages of NES origin and ES origin students who were born overseas and aged 10 years or more upon arrival in Australia for each consistency group are as follows:

	Per cent aged 10 or over	
	NES	*ES*
(a) Group 1 (Consistently high aspiration and gained HSC)	14	11
(b) Group 2 (Inconsistently high aspiration and gained HSC)	35	40
(c) Group 3 (Consistently high aspiration and did not gain HSC)	14	16
(d) Group 4 (Inconsistently high aspiration and did not gain HSC)	45	35
(e) Group 5 (Inconsistently low aspiration and did not gain HSC)	25	15
(f) Group 6 (Consistently low aspiration and did not gain HSC)	27	19

Over one-third of Group 2 students with NES and ES origin backgrounds were aged 10 or over upon arrival in Australia. To achieve a label of 'inconsistently high' aspiration, they recorded an IQ measure of 99 or less on the English language-based ACER ML + MQ test. In the case of NES origin students the IQ measure is likely to be depressed because of English language difficulties. An alternative explanation portrays newly arrived NES origin Group 2 students as hard working and determined to overcome initial language difficulties. Group 4 students achieved IQ ratings of 99 or less and

did not achieve their aspiration to complete the HSC. Almost half of the Group 4 NES students were aged 10 or over upon arrival in Australia and it is likely that English language difficulties played an important role in their failure to realise their aspirations.

An analysis of the percentage of NES origin children aged 10 or over upon arrival in Australia for each ethnic subgroup (see Table 56) highlights the major influence of this variable in relation to Lebanese and Yugoslav origin children:

	Per cent aged 10 or over	
	Lebanese	*Yugoslav*
(a) Group 1	13	7
(b) Group 2	25	67
(c) Group 3	0	29
(d) Group 4	69	75
(e) Group 5	50	50
(f) Group 6	47	56

It is noted, in particular, that over two-thirds of the Lebanese and Yugoslav students classified under Group 4 (inconsistently high aspirations and did not gain the HSC) were aged 10 or over upon arrival in Australia.

Discussion

The more pronounced dedication towards the duties of a student and the higher educational aspirations of the group of students of NES origin and their parents, particularly those of Greek, Yugoslav and Italian origins, in comparison with the ES background families is reflected in the overall findings. The NES origin students and their parents acted to maximise the opportunities available to them in relation to their potential for gaining the HSC. The results also indicated, however, that in comparison with the non-NES origin students, a relatively higher proportion (17 per cent) of the NES origin students were unable to realise their aspirations to complete the HSC. Recently arrived Lebanese and Yugoslav students, in particular, fell into this category. In general, it can be concluded that a number of students in the group stood out because they maintained high educational aspirations and completed the HSC in spite of their relatively lower ability as indicated by IQ tests, whereas, in the case of the ES background families, a number of students stood out because they left school in spite of their relatively higher ability as indicated by the IQ tests.

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE CONSISTENCY GROUPS

Introduction

It has been previously shown how a combination of several variables, including IQ, educational aspirations and achievements, was utilised to define the six consistency groups (Table 54). Variations have also been shown to occur in the proportional distribution among the groups on the basis of parents' country of birth, for example NES origin students were disproportionately represented in Group 2. In the following section the characteristics of the six groups are investigated. The characteristics of the NES origin students are shown separately for comparison purposes (Table 55 and Diagrams 26, 27 and 28).[2]

2. Details are shown in Tables 57 to 60, Appendix K.

IQ (Table 55)

As IQ was one of the variables used to define the groups, the mean IQ results demonstrate an expected pattern—Groups 1, 3 and 5 (high or medium IQ); Groups 2, 4 and 6 (low IQ). The mean IQ results reveal that a sizeable number of higher IQ students leave school before the HSC (for example, the average IQ scores of students in Groups 3 and 5 were 115 and 111 respectively).

Socio-economic status (Table 55 and Diagram 26)

(a) Students classified under Group 1 tend to come from higher SES families while those in Groups 4 and 6 tend to have lower SES backgrounds.
(b) Students of NES origin tend to have lower SES backgrounds in all groups in comparison with the sample as a whole.

Parents' aspirations for their child's high school education (Table 55 and Diagram 26)

(a) High proportions of parents whose children gained the HSC (Groups 1 and 2) had aspirations during the child's Grade 10 year for their son or daughter to remain at school until the HSC. The high percentages of children in these groups who reported that their mother would be disappointed if they did not complete the HSC (Diagram 26) reinforce these findings.
(b) The fact that 96 per cent of Group 1 parents wanted their child to complete the HSC compared with 69 per cent of Group 3 parents may explain in part why students from the latter group left school. Similarly, 98 per cent of Group 2 parents wanted their child to complete the HSC compared with 57 per cent of Group 4 parents.
(c) Less than 20 per cent of parents of students classified under Groups 5 and 6 wanted their child to remain at school to the HSC.
(d) In the main, for each of the six groups an equal or higher proportion of NES origin parents wanted their child to remain at school to do the HSC in comparison with the sample as a whole. Similarly, higher proportions of NES students in each of the groups reported that their mother would be disappointed if they did not complete the HSC.

Aspirations for post-high school education (Table 55 and Diagrams 27 and 28)

(a) The majority of students classified under Groups 1 and 2 aspired to attend either a university or CAE after high school (Diagram 27). In general, parents' aspirations for their children mirrored those of the children themselves (Diagram 28).
(b) In contrast, considerably lower proportions of students classified under Groups 3 and 4 wanted to attend either a university or CAE. In each case, almost half wanted to attend a technical college after high school. Parents' aspirations reflected a similar trend.
(c) The majority of students classified under Groups 5 and 6 had planned to attend a technical college after high school. Parents also aspired for their child to attend technical college.
(d) The post-high school aspirations for the NES origin students followed similar trends to the sample as a whole as did their parents' aspirations with one exception—61 per cent of the NES origin parents (Table 55) whose children had consistently high aspirations but failed to gain the HSC (Group 3) aspired for their child to attend a university or a CAE compared with 39 per cent of the whole interview sample and only 17 per cent[3] of a similarly classified group of Australian-born parents.

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3. See Table 59B, Appendix K.

Table 55

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE CONSISTENCY GROUPS (*a*)

Variable	*Sample description*	*Group 1 (N=836) Consistently high aspiration, gained HSC*	*Group 2 (N=121) Inconsistently high aspiration, gained HSC*	*Group 3 (N=518) Consistently high aspiration, no HSC*	*Group 4 (N=223) Inconsistently high aspiration, no HSC*	*Group 5 (N=639) Inconsistently low aspiration, no HSC*	*Group 6 (N=397) Consistently low aspiration, no HSC*
IQ	Total	mean=119; SD=10.0	mean=92; SD=5.5	mean=115; SD=9.6	mean=90; SD=7.2	mean=111; SD=8.7	mean=89; SD=7.7
	Students of NES origin	mean=115; SD=9.8	mean=91; SD=5.8	mean=111; SD=9.2	mean=88; SD=7.4	mean=108; SD=7.5	mean=86; SD=8.1
SES	Total	50% higher SES	37% higher SES	39% higher SES	27% higher SES	35% higher SES	26% higher SES
	Students of NES origin	33% higher SES	26% higher SES	23% higher SES	14% higher SES	10% higher SES	12% higher SES
Parents' high school aspirations	Total	96% wanted HSC	98% wanted HSC	69% wanted HSC	57% wanted HSC	18% wanted HSC	16% wanted HSC
	Students of NES origin	97% wanted HSC	97% wanted HSC	88% wanted HSC	58% wanted HSC	25% wanted HSC	25% wanted HSC
Percentage reporting mother disappointment if no HSC (Grade 10)	Total	77%	77%	51%	45%	11%	13%
	Students of NES origin	89%	84%	68%	60%	19%	22%
Percentage reporting teacher encouragement to remain at school after SC (Grade 9 and 10)	Total	Gr. 9=31%; Gr. 10=47%	Gr. 9=22%; Gr. 10=34%	Gr. 9=29%; Gr. 10=41%	Gr. 9=34%; Gr. 10=21%	Gr. 9=16%; Gr. 10=20%	Gr. 9=17%; Gr. 10=8%
	Students of NES origin	Gr. 9=36%; Gr. 10=52%	Gr. 9=16%; Gr. 10=29%	Gr. 9=33%; Gr. 10=48%	Gr. 9=37%; Gr. 10=21%	Gr. 9=21%; Gr. 10=33%	Gr. 9=22%; Gr. 10=9%
Student post-high school educational aspirations	Total	Univ. or Tech.=25% CAE=67%	Univ. or Tech.=35% CAE=55%	Univ. or Tech.=41% CAE=53%	Univ. or Tech.=53% CAE=32%	Univ. or Tech.=79% CAE=2%	Univ. or Tech.=71% CAE=2%
	Students of NES origin	Univ. or Tech.=23% CAE=70%	Univ. or Tech.=36% CAE=55%	Univ. or Tech.=38% CAE=53%	Univ. or Tech.=49% CAE=36%	Univ. or Tech.=67% CAE=2%	Univ. or Tech.=70% CAE=3%
Parents' post-high school educational aspirations for their child	Total	Univ. or Tech.=10% CAE=72%	Univ. or Tech.=12% CAE=65%	Univ. or Tech.=41% CAE=39%	Univ. or Tech.=42% CAE=33%	Univ. or Tech.=76% CAE=3%	Univ. or Tech.=68% CAE=6%
	Students of NES origin	Univ. or Tech.=9% CAE=74%	Univ. or Tech.=10% CAE=66%	Univ. or Tech.=36% CAE=61%	Univ. or Tech.=42% CAE=32%	Univ. or Tech.=88% CAE=4%	Univ. or Tech.=67% CAE=9%
Percentage interested in most or all school subjects (Grade 9)	Total	82%	81%	77%	70%	56%	50%
	Students of NES origin	86%	83%	89%	78%	45%	57%

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Table 55—continued

Variable	*Sample description*	*Group 1 (N=836) Consistently high aspiration, gained HSC*	*Group 2 (N=121) Inconsistently high aspiration, gained HSC*	*Group 3 (N=518) Consistently high aspiration, no HSC*	*Group 4 (N=223) Inconsistently high aspiration, no HSC*	*Group 5 (N=639) Inconsistently low aspiration, no HSC*	*Group 6 (N=597) Consistently low aspiration, no HSC*
Percentage studying 6 hours and over per week (Grade 9 and 10)	Total	Gr. 9=51%; Gr. 10=62%	Gr. 9=50%; Gr. 10=60%	Gr. 9=43%; Gr. 10=50%	Gr. 9=32%; Gr. 10=48%	Gr. 9=28%; Gr. 10=31%	Gr. 9=21%; Gr. 10=35%
	Students of NES origin	Gr. 9=60%; Gr. 10=74%	Gr. 9=65%; Gr. 10=71%	Gr. 9=56%; Gr. 10=57%	Gr. 9=38%; Gr. 10=55%	Gr. 9=43%; Gr. 10=53%	Gr. 9=28%; Gr. 10=50%
Percentage watching over 10 hours TV in a school week in Grade 10	Total	54%	59%	62%	63%	69%	70%
	Students of NES origin	44%	59%	62%	60%	50%	68%

(*a*) For details, see Tables 57–60, Appendix K.

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Summary discussion of aspiration results

These results have demonstrated that parents' aspirations are important intervening variables which play a major part in determining whether students' aspirations are realised. For example, a major distinction between the group of students with consistently high aspirations who gained the HSC and the similarly classified group who failed to gain the HSC (Groups 1 and 3, Table 55) was the lower proportion of parents of children in the latter group who aspired for their child to complete the HSC. Similar inferences can be drawn when comparing the two groups of students with inconsistently high aspirations (Groups 2 and 4). It was also found that only one-fifth of the parents of children with inconsistently low aspirations (Group 5) wanted their child to remain at school until the HSC. Post-high school aspiration findings revealed that these parents have alternative plans for their children—over three-quarters aspired for their child to attend a technical college. Overall, our data revealed a high degree of coincidence of students' and parents' aspirations. However, most students who aspired to remain at school, when their parents did not, ended up by leaving school.

It has been indicated previously that the six 'consistency' groups of students were homogeneously grouped on the basis of a number of variables. However, the tendency for higher proportions of NES origin migrant parents to aspire for their child to complete the HSC in comparison with Australian-born parents still permeated the results. The findings illustrate the extra education push provided by migrant parents and reinforce the thesis that migrant parents believe in the socialising influence of school i.e. school will teach children the 'Australian way'.

Teacher encouragement to remain at school (Table 55 and Diagram 26)

(a) For students who had consistently high aspirations (Groups 1 and 3) there was a marked increase between Grades 9 and 10 in the proportions who reported that teachers were encouraging them to remain at school. During their Grade 10 year, over 40 per cent of students in each of these groups said that teachers were encouraging them to stay at school.

(b) Students with inconsistently high aspirations who gained the HSC (Group 2) also reported an increase in teacher encouragement between Grades 9 and 10. However, a slightly lower proportion of these students reported teacher encouragement to remain at school than students in the higher IQ groups discussed under (a).

(c) Students who had inconsistently high aspirations but did not gain the HSC (Group 4) reported a decrease in teacher encouragement between Grades 9 and 10.

(d) Less than 10 per cent of students with consistently low aspirations (Group 6) reported teacher encouragement to remain at school during their Grade 10 year.

(e) Among the higher IQ groups (1, 3 and 5) higher proportions of the NES origin students reported teacher encouragement to remain at school in comparison with the sample as a whole.

Discussion of teacher encouragement results

The results provide general support for the proposition that teachers tend to encourage the bright child to stay at school to a greater degree than lower IQ students, i.e. teachers tend to support or at least 'go along with' the conceptions of schooling described as the institutional ideology. However, the higher IQ students in Group 5 are an exception as only 20 per cent said in Grade 10 that teachers were encouraging HSC attendance. In addition, an increased proportion of the lower IQ students with high aspirations described in Group 2 reported teacher encouragement in Grade 10 compared with Grade

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DIAGRAM 28
CONSISTENCY INDEX BY SELECTED VARIABLES

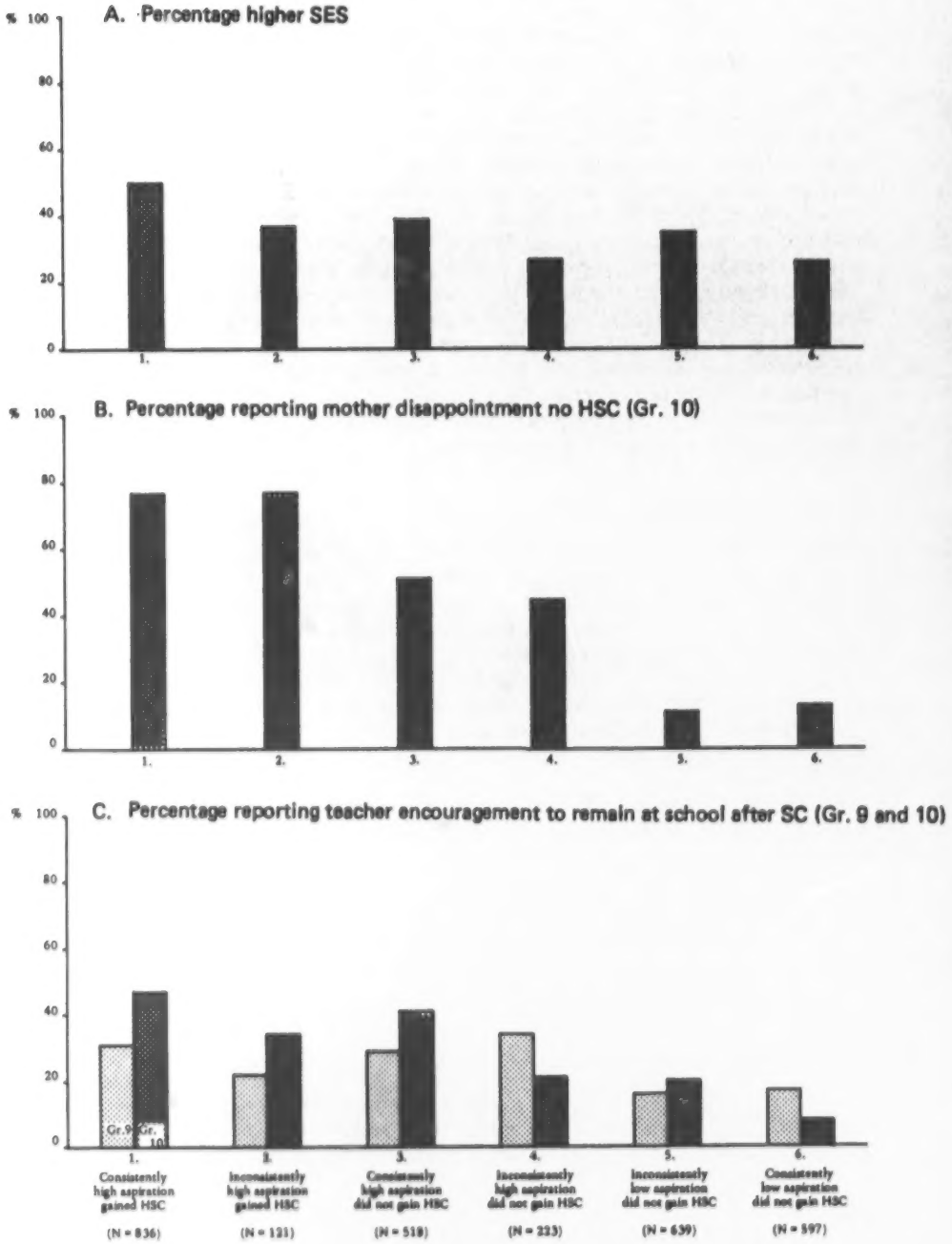

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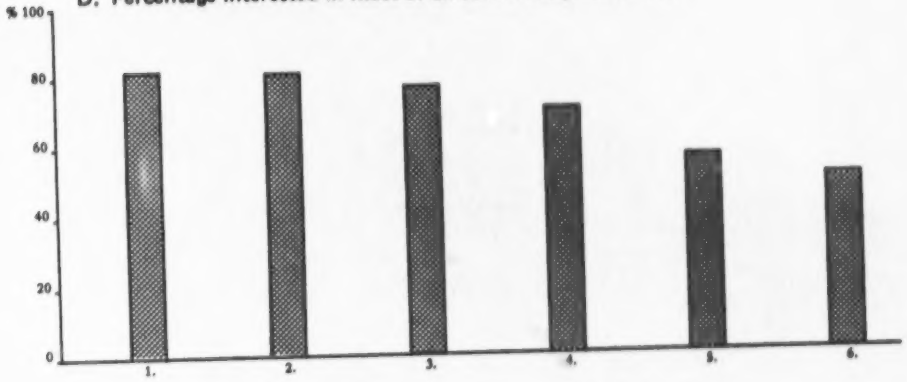
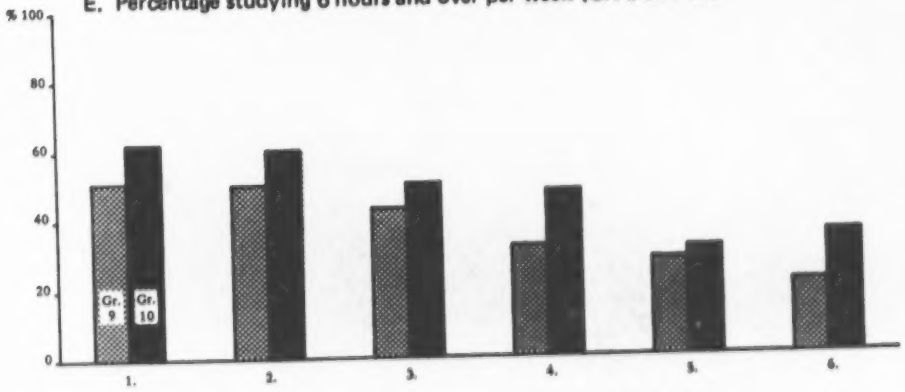
Diagram 26 (continued)

CONSISTENCY INDEX BY SELECTED VARIABLES

D. Percentage interested in most or all school subjects (Gr. 9)



E. Percentage studying 6 hours and over per week (Gr. 9 and 10)



F. Percentage watching over 10 hours of TV per week (Gr. 10)

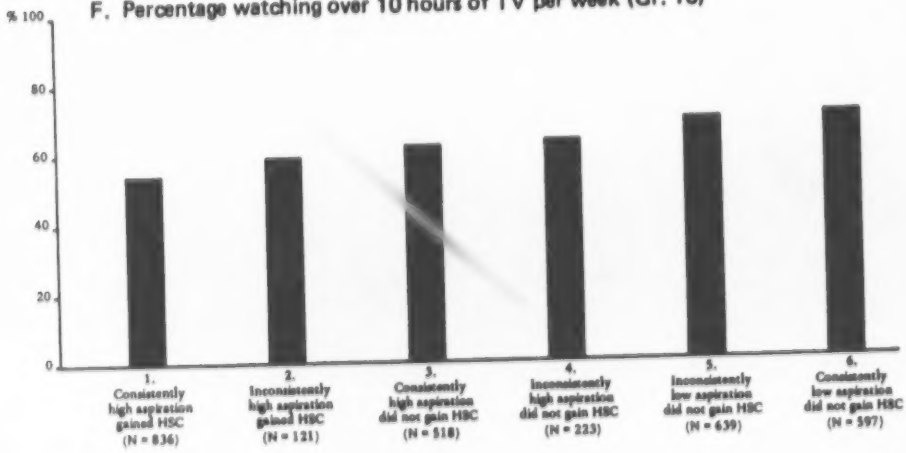

% 100
80
60
40
20
0
1. Consistently high aspiration gained HSC (N = 836)
2. Inconsistently high aspiration gained HSC (N = 121)
3. Consistently high aspiration did not gain HSC (N = 518)
4. Inconsistently high aspiration did not gain HSC (N = 223)
5. Inconsistently low aspiration did not gain HSC (N = 639)
6. Consistently low aspiration did not gain HSC (N = 597)

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DIAGRAM 27

CONSISTENCY INDEX BY STUDENTS' ASPIRATIONS FOR POST HIGH SCHOOL EDUCATION (GRADE 9)

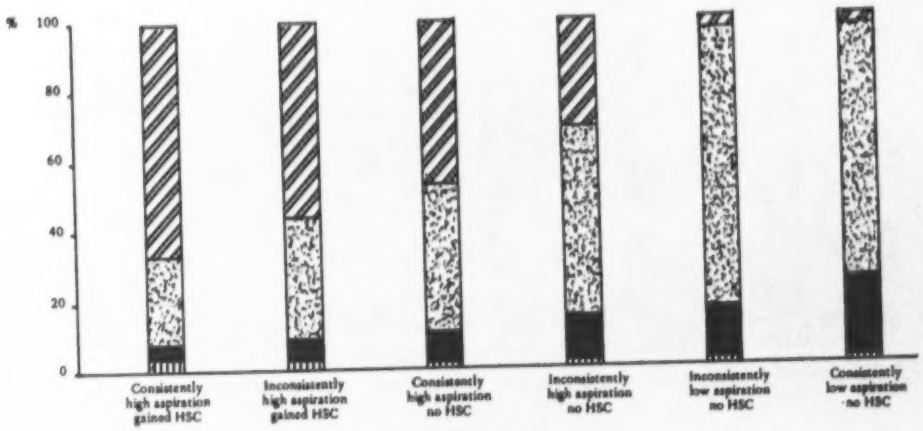
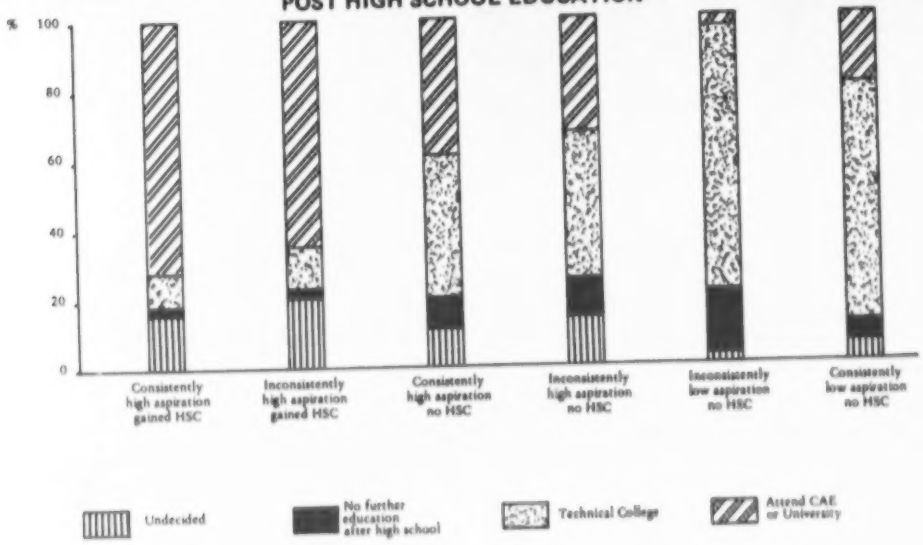


DIAGRAM 28

CONSISTENCY INDEX BY PARENTS' ASPIRATIONS FOR THEIR CHILD'S POST HIGH SCHOOL EDUCATION



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9 (22 per cent, Grade 9 to 34 per cent, Grade 10). It is possible that teachers responded to the motivation and enthusiasm of this largely NES origin group in spite of their low IQ as measured by tests.

Overall, NES origin students enjoyed teacher encouragement to the same extent as and in some instances in greater proportions than similarly classified student groups from the sample as a whole.

Interest and motivation in school subjects (Table 55 and Diagram 26)

(a) Higher proportions of students who ultimately gained the HSC (Groups 1 and 2) were interested in their school subjects in comparison with the remaining groups. They also spent more time studying and less time watching TV.

(b) Table 55 shows that within each of the six groups it is the NES origin students who tend to spend more time studying in comparison with the sample overall.

Consistency group characteristics for ethnic subgroups (Table 56)

The consistency group characteristics for Greek, Italian, Lebanese and Yugoslav students were also analysed for selected variables:

(a) The pattern for SES distribution reveals that Greek and Yugoslav students classified under Group 1 tend to come from lower SES families as only 15 per cent and 14 per cent respectively came from upper SES homes. In contrast, the SES distribution for Italian and Lebanese students reflects the same trends as for the sample as a whole.

(b) The distribution pattern for 'percentage reporting mother disappointed if no HSC' follows the same general trends as the total NES group. Considerable 'within ethnic subgroup variance' occurred in Group 6—only 8 per cent of the Greek and 13 per cent of the Italian students reported that their mother would be disappointed if they did not gain the HSC, compared with 40 per cent of the Lebanese and 33 per cent of the Yugoslav students.

(c) The distribution pattern for 'percentage reporting teacher encouragement to stay at school until the HSC' reveals that low proportions of Group 6 students for each group reported teacher encouragement to stay at school. It is difficult to locate consistent trends for Groups 1 to 6.

(d) In general, high proportions of students in Groups 1 and 2 reported that they wished to attend a university or CAE after school, and parents' aspirations for their children mirrored those of the children themselves. Students in Groups 5 and 6 preferred to attend a technical college after school and their parents' aspirations reflected a similar trend. Students in Groups 3 and 4 fell between these two extremes.

(e) The distribution pattern for 'percentage of students studying six hours or more per week' reflects variations among the ethnic subgroups e.g. very high proportions of the Lebanese and Yugoslav students (91 per cent and 86 per cent) with inconsistently high aspiration who left school were studying six hours per week or more in Grade 10.

Case studies

Case studies were developed by selecting students from each of the groups in Table 54 to help provide an insight into factors which influence the educational experience. As Report No. 3 focuses on the educational experience of NES origin students the selection of case studies was weighted in favour of these students.

Table 56

CHARACTERISTICS OF CONSISTENCY GROUPS

Students with parents born in selected non-English-speaking countries

Selected variables	*Sample description*	*Group 1 Consistently high aspiration, gained HSC*	*Group 2 Inconsistently high aspiration, gained HSC*	*Group 3 Consistently high aspiration, no HSC*	*Group 4 Inconsistently high aspiration, no HSC*	*Group 5 Inconsistently low aspiration, no HSC*	*Group 6 Consistently low aspiration, no HSC*
% higher SES	Greek	15	17	20	33	0+	9
	Italian	32	22	11	11	0	13
	Lebanese	38	40	25+	0	0+	0
	Yugoslav	14	11	29	14	25+	11
% aged 10 years or over upon arrival in Australia	Greek	0	4	0	19	0+	21
	Italian	0	11	0	0	10	16
	Lebanese	13	25	0+	69	50+	47
	Yugoslav	7	67	29	75	50+	56
% reporting mother disappointed if no HSC	Greek	83	91	60	80	0+	8
	Italian	73	78	67	44	11	13
	Lebanese	100	100	50+	46	50+	40
	Yugoslav	86	78	60	67	25+	33
% reporting teacher encouragement to stay to HSC (*a*)	Greek	56	32	63	22	50+	6
	Italian	36	14	38	14	0	6
	Lebanese	50	0	25+	14	0+	14
	Yugoslav	44	43	33	86	33+	0

		Univ. or CAE (per cent)	*Tech. (per cent)*	*Univ. or CAE (per cent)*	*Tech. (per cent)*	*Univ. or CAE (per cent)*	*Tech. (per cent)*	*Univ. or CAE (per cent)*	*Tech. (per cent)*	*Univ. or CAE (per cent)*	*Tech. (per cent)*	*Univ. or CAE (per cent)*	*Tech. (per cent)*
Students' post-HSC educational aspirations	Greek	74	23	54	46	40	60	25	56	0+	100+	0	88
	Italian	76	24	38	63	67	22	25	50	0	78	0	83
	Lebanese	88	13	75+	25+	50+	25+	27	73	0+	100+	7	80
	Yugoslav	57	43	63	38	43	57	75	25	0+	50+	0	78

		Univ. or CAE (per cent)	*Tech. (per cent)*	*Univ. or CAE (per cent)*	*Tech. (per cent)*	*Univ. or CAE (per cent)*	*Tech. (per cent)*	*Univ. or CAE (per cent)*	*Tech. (per cent)*	*Univ. or CAE (per cent)*	*Tech. (per cent)*	*Univ. or CAE (per cent)*	*Tech. (per cent)*
Parents' post-HSC educational aspirations for child	Greek	75	8	78	11	100+	0+	0	71	00+	100+	20	60
	Italian	63	0	68+	33+	0	100+	20	60	0	100+	10	90
	Lebanese	60	0	67+	0	75+	0+	57	14	0+	0+	0	44
	Yugoslav	75	17	33	0	75+	25+	29	43	0+	100+	25+	25+
% students studying 6 hours or more per week (Grade 10)	Greek		78		71		60		53		50+		50
	Italian		73		100		56		22		56		33
	Lebanese		86		60		100+		91		100+		40
	Yugoslav		57		44		60		86		75+		83

(*a*) Students reporting teacher encouragement to stay to HSC in Grade 10.

Marina Politis (Group 1, Table 54)
IQ = 126 (high); aspired to HSC in Grade 9 and 10; school accreditation—medium HSC.

Marina and her parents were born in Greece and came to Australia when Marina was 3 years old. Mr Politis is a carpenter and his wife works as a cleaner for the government railways. Marina has an elder sister.

Mr and Mrs Politis can neither read nor write English. As they also speak little English the parent interview was conducted in Greek.

Throughout secondary school Marina aspired to complete her HSC and continue to university. Her career aspirations concerned high school teaching, pathology, pharmacology and computing.

When asked to comment on the influence that her parents had on her hopes about education and jobs, Marina wrote:

> My parents just give me ideas on the jobs that would be could [*sic*] for me to do, how they are well paid and how they suit my character and knowledge. But they do not have a direct influence, they wouldn't tell I have to do that specific job.

On the same topic, Mr Politis commented:

> She has to decide on her own. We never interfere with this matter . . . Marina has in mind to become either a chemist or a doctor. I like both occupations but only if she is able to do them . . . We have always encouraged her in her schoolwork . . .
>
> Well she can see that we don't do things like other parents do—buy a shop, for instance, and force their children to help them in the shop in order to make themselves a small future. No, my only aim is to help them educate themselves and I always tell them this. I can't help them with their schoolwork because we don't know English, but I am willing to work hard and help them economically. But they have to help me too, by studying and until this day thank God we have no trouble.

Rosalind Carter (Group 1, Table 54)
IQ = 133 (high); aspired to HSC in Grade 9 and 10; school accreditation—high HSC.

Mrs Carter was born in the Ukraine and arrived in Australia in 1956. Mr Carter was born in Holland and arrived in Australia in 1958. Although Rosalind was born in Australia, when she commenced school she could speak German but not English. Rosalind is the eldest of 4 children. Mr and Mrs Carter were divorced when Rosalind was in Grade 10. (Mrs Carter indicated that she could no longer accept her husband's insistence that only German be spoken in the home.) Mrs Carter held a part-time job as a shop assistant. Mr Carter is a commercial artist. It is not known if he contributed to family finances after the divorce. Rosalind received the Secondary Allowances Scheme grant in Grades 11 and 12.

Rosalind aspired to HSC in Grades 9, 10 and 11 but when asked about post-high school education in Grades 9 and 10, she replied she didn't know. In Grade 11 she aspired to a university education. For each of the 3 years of study, Rosalind said that she had no idea what occupation she hoped to enter after school.

In Grade 10, Rosalind reported that her mother would be disappointed if she did not go on to the HSC. She expressed no opinion on Mr Carter's views. However, Mrs Carter stated in the home interview that her husband felt that the girls should leave school to get a job and earn some money. Mrs Carter resisted this view. She visited the school principal to enquire about financial assistance and also to get some proof of Rosalind's ability to convince Mr Carter that Rosalind should not leave school. Mrs Carter did not have an opportunity for a good education in her own childhood, which was affected by the war, and was very keen that her children should get a good education.

Mrs Carter also had no idea about which occupation Rosalind might enter; she expressed the view that Rosalind was 'too good for being just an office girl'. She was happy for Rosalind to attend university if the financial burden did not preclude this. In Grade 10, Rosalind replied, in response to a question about parental influence on her educational and occupational hopes,

> My mother was not able to have much education and so now, even though she likes her job, she could not really choose what job she would like. My mother has always said we should have a good education so that we could get on in the world.

Mrs Carter described Rosalind as 'very ambitious and a hard worker'. Rosalind seemed highly motivated to continue her education even in the absence of any definite career ambition.

Ahmet Nassau (Group 2, Table 54)
IQ = 95 (low); aspired to the HSC in Grade 9 and 10; school accreditation—high HSC.

Ahmet and his parents were born in Lebanon. He arrived in Australia at the age of 13. He is the eldest of 6 children. Mr Nassau left school at 15 years and is a polisher in a factory; his wife

completed Fifth Form at primary school and does sewing repairs in a dry-cleaning business. Mr Nassau speaks very little English and Mrs Nassau can neither speak nor write English. The parent interview was conducted in Arabic and translated.

In Grades 9, 10 and 11, Ahmet aspired to attend university and to become a mechanical engineer.

According to his parents, Ahmet does very well at school, coming either first or second in his class each year. He had a very positive attitude towards school.

> Mo. He likes school very much. Sometimes I ask him to stay away from school and run an errand for me. He says he cannot stay from school, not even for one day, and that I should take time off work and run the errand myself.
>
> Fr His teachers like him as he never gives any trouble. His conduct at school is very good.

Ahmet said that his parents, relatives and teachers were all encouraging him to stay at school until he gained his HSC and then to continue to university. When asked to write a few sentences on the influence that his father and mother had had on his hopes about education and jobs, he wrote:

> They have a great influence on me because of the things they got for me e.g. Encyclopedia and the encouragement I got from (them) influenced my staying at school.

His mother told how they had helped his education in their former country.

> In Kuwait I used to pay the nuns to teach him English, Arabic and French. He was only three. When we went to Lebanon, I put the boys in a boarding school. I used to pay 2000 liras (around $A600) for his school. My mother helped me with their education expenses. When he came here, he was good at both English and French.

In response to the question 'Apart from your mother and father, have any other people influenced your hopes about education and jobs?' Ahmet responded:

> My brothers and sisters—for I have three brothers and two sisters living in normal conditions and they influenced me because I was the oldest and they should have high hopes in me for giving them a better life.

His mother expressed her hopes for her son's future:

> I'd like him to be well-educated and respected by all people; to have money and a family. I'd like him to do something for the government of this country as they have done so much for him.

Peter Comino (Group 2, Table 54)
IQ=93 (low); aspired to the HSC in Grade 9 and 10; school accreditation—low HSC.

Peter was born in Australia. His parents are Greek; his father migrated to Australia in 1956, his mother in 1958. Mr Comino is an excavations contractor and his wife is a factory process worker. They have primary education only and were factory workers in Greece. The parent interview was conducted in Greek as both speak very little English. Neither can read or write English.

Peter aspired to complete high school and attend university. Initially he wished to be a solicitor (Grade 9) but in Grade 10 he wanted to work as a clerk or a manager for an airline or an embassy overseas where he could use his language skills. He saw his bilinguality as a useful asset.

When commenting on the influence his parents had on his education and job aspirations, Peter wrote: 'They want me to get a clean job which I will enjoy which will have a very good pay and many advantages'. However, Peter's father, when asked what kind of occupation he thought Peter would go into, answered:

> We can't answer this question for the reason that we will not be able to tell Peter what to do. He won't listen to us. I wanted very much for him to be a doctor or a lawyer or something similar but Peter doesn't like these occupations. It is not that he finds them difficult but that he simply doesn't like them. He wants to become a pilot.

When Peter's parents were asked how the decision regarding his future will be made, Mr Comino replied:

> We will wait for him to finish high school and after that we will decide.

Peter liked school and most of his subjects very much. He appeared to have worked very hard in Grade 10, doing 28 hours per week of home study. His parents were not happy with his school work. His father said:.

> In my opinion, he can do better if he studies more. I am not happy with the homework here in this country. Back in Europe it is different. For example, if you ask a question of a European student and you ask the same question of my son, the European will answer better than him.

Mo. He is doing alright except in Maths and for this reason he gets private lessons. We had to pay $300 for 10 weeks' lessons in mathematics. He has to go twice every week.

Peter's father summed up the parents' aspirations for their son:

I would like him to be a good man like his father but I don't want him to struggle the way his father does. I want him to earn his bread in an easier way.

Neil Bromley (Group 3, Table 54)

IQ = 125 (high); aspired to HSC in Grades 9 and 10; school accreditation—low SC and left after a couple of months in Grade 11.

Neil and his parents are Australian born. Neil said that his 'father' was actually his step-father, but this was not mentioned in the parents' interview. Mr and Mrs Bromley were both educated to third year secondary. Mr Bromley is a railway shunter, Mrs Bromley a barmaid. Neil is the eldest of 7 children, all living at home.

In Grade 9, Neil wanted to join the army. His second job preference was 'motor engineer in case I can not get into Army and my Mum wants me to'.

In Grade 10, he wanted to go on to technical college after the HSC and become an auto-electrician. Neil said that his parents had no influence on his hopes about education and jobs. In Grade 10 they were neither encouraging or discouraging him to stay after the SC but his brothers and sisters were discouraging him from staying after the SC.

His mother indicated that she did not feel that she was involved in his decisions about a career.

Mo. The majority of it will be up to Neil. He is the one who will have to do the working part of it. I don't think I could influence him, I would help him but I couldn't tell him to do this, that and the other. That just wouldn't work. I don't think I would have the right to.

Neil reported that he undertook only 4 hours of homework per week; it was 'mostly done at school'. He watched 20 hours of TV from Monday to Friday. Neil's parents felt that he could do better than he was doing. His mother suggested:

Maybe the work has got harder as he has got older . . . when he was younger he was higher in the class, he was a lot better than he is now. His grades are still good, I feel he could do better.

Neil obtained a low SC and returned to school in Grade 11 but left after 3 months.

The reason he gave was: 'I left because of financial problems at home'. He obtained work as a labourer at a foam factory, but still hoped to obtain employment as an auto-mechanic or an auto-electrician and hoped to gain an army apprenticeship to enable him to do so.

As eldest in the family, Neil has a certain responsibility for the family. His 'father' said:

For a while he had to be the man of the house and he looks after the others when I'm not here.

His mother added: 'He cooks their meals. The responsibility doesn't bother him'.

Susan Crowley (Group 3, Table 54)

IQ = 114; aspired to the HSC in Grade 10; school accreditation—high SC.

Susan and her mother were born in Australia. Her stepfather is English born and is a manager of a large food store. There are 6 children in the family.

In Grade 9, Susan hoped to get an apprenticeship in hairdressing after obtaining a School Certificate and then, on completing her hairdressing course, become an actress. In Grade 10, she explained further:

My main ambition is to become a full-time actress but I want a good steady job behind me first. If I do the higher certificate I would like to become a clinic psychologist or a science teacher, and if I leave probably hairdressing or something.

Susan reported that her parents would not be disappointed if she did not gain the HSC but that her teachers and friends had stated she should aim for higher things than hairdressing. Susan left school after obtaining a high SC result to work in a bank. She wrote:

The reasons for my leaving school is due to the fact that I am very interested in singing, acting and dancing. Therefore I need training and to have training you need money, therefore I left to get a good secure job to pay for the training and I want to see the world and meet people.

Maria Zammit (Group 4, Table 54)

IQ = 89 (low); aspired to the HSC; school accreditation—low SC.

Maria's parents are Maltese—her father migrated to Australia in 1953, her mother in 1954. The family consists of 6 children, 3 of whom still live at home. Mr Zammit is a cook at a psychiatric hospital and does shift work. Both parents were educated until sixth class primary school. They do not speak English well for, as they carefully explained, the war came and they had to leave school early and therefore never had any formal instruction in English.

In Grade 9, Maria wished to continue to HSC and then to become a secretary, typist or a beautician. By Grade 10, she was still interested in clerical jobs, working at a bank as a typist or teller or as a switchboard operator, but her educational aspirations were now to leave after the School Certificate and go to a technical college. She wrote on the influence that her parents had had on her hopes for education and job: 'They say it is best to do your School Certificate so you can get a better job and if you don't get the job go to tech. for a couple of months'.

Her parents made it clear what their priorities were concerning their daughter's future:

Fr I want her to work in an office. I don't want her to work in a factory. She's only a girl and I don't [want] her to work hard. Alright, everyone has to work hard—if she's sitting down she will still work hard—but I don't want her in a factory on a machine.

When asked specifically about her daughter's career prospects, Mrs Zammitt said:

Maria wishes to go to a business college, but to tell you the truth even though I wish to send her, we can't afford it. If I didn't have the younger children, I would go to work and help my husband.

Maria did not work very hard on her home study. She did half an hour of home study per week in Grade 9 and 2½–3 hours per week in Grade 10. Her parents felt that she was not doing as well as she could.

Maria left school after obtaining a low School Certificate result. She then worked in a chemist shop and indicated that this was the occupation which she hoped to enter in the long run. She said that she left because 'I did not need to go on and I wanted to get a job to earn some money'.

Her mother also indicated that one of the main reasons that Maria left school was monetary:

She likes school but sometimes she would like to leave school and the reason she wants to finish is because she wants to earn some money. I can not afford to buy everything that she asks for and young girls like to have the same as their friends.

Jean Stokes (Group 5, Table 54)
IQ = 124 (high); did not aspire to the HSC; school accreditation—low SC.

Jean and her parents were born in Australia. Mr Stokes is retired and Mrs Stokes does not work. They have 2 children living at home. Mr and Mrs Stokes had been separated for 6 months prior to the parent interview.

In both Grade 9 and Grade 10 Jean aspired to leave school after the SC and then to attend a technical college. Her job aspirations varied from joining the army or working in a chemist shop in Grade 9 to being a dental assistant or a policewoman in Grade 10. However, her mother said:

There is only one thing she has ever wanted to be and that is a dental nurse. She's always had her heart set on that.

When asked to comment on the influence that her parents had had on her hopes about education and jobs, she replied: 'My mother said I can choose what I want to do, it doesn't matter what my father says'.

Jean indicated that no one else had influenced her, and she had not made any inquiries about education courses or jobs.

When asked to indicate whether or not certain people were encouraging her to stay at school after the SC, Jean indicated that teachers and careers advisors were discouraging her to remain at school, while her mother was non-committal. She did not fill in any square opposite 'father'. In the question concerning the three problems which teenagers today have to overcome, Jean listed 'parents breaking up', together with shortage of jobs.

In Grade 10, Jean indicated that she did not do any homework but spent 40 hours watching TV between Monday and Friday and had read more than 10 novels that year.

This situation changed recently.

Mo. In the last six months she's done as much as she's done in the last three years. I would say that the first three years at high school were wasted but she's picked up a lot in the last six months . . . This is due to the fact that we have moved out of the house. Prior to this she was under a lot of strain with an alcoholic father and she just couldn't concentrate on school work. She just didn't do any at all . . . She's really battling all the way now to get her certificate but this is due to the change in our home life.

It appears the school was not aware of the situation for some time.

Mo. The headmaster called me in one day to discuss her conduct. He said he had wanted to make a report on her to her parents and had asked her where her father could be contacted. She had said 'any pub'. He had notified all the teachers and said that Jean was a liar and not to take any notice of her. I asked him if he would notify the teachers again that she was not a liar and that she lived under this

difficult situation, and it's since then that she started picking up—when the headmaster realised her position.

Jean's changed work habits came too late for a successful school career. She received a low School Certificate rating and left school. We were unable to trace what she did after leaving school.

Frank Stewart (Group 5, Table 54)
IQ = 126 (high); did not aspire to the HSC; school accreditation—high SC.

Frank and his parents were born in Scotland and migrated to Australia in 1965 when Frank was in second class primary school. Frank has an older brother and a younger sister. Mr and Mrs Stewart both completed fourth form secondary school. Mr Stewart is an engineer and manager of manufacturing facilities and a part-time technical college teacher. Mrs Stewart is a saleswoman in a shop.

Throughout Grades 9 and 10, Frank aspired to leave school after the School Certificate and enter a technical college. He wished to become a marine engineer and hoped to join the merchant navy. Writing about the influence that his parents had on his hopes for education and a job, he said:

> They wanted me to get the School Certificate and than take up an apprenticeship. This I did and also my father helped me choose the type of job.

He reported that the only people who were encouraging him to stay on at high school after the School Certificate were the careers advisors. His parents would not be disappointed if he did not get the HSC. They said:

Mo. Frank wants to go into the merchant navy as an engineer. We're very happy with the choice. He's very skilful with his hands.

Fr He applied for an apprenticeship as a fitter machinist at the naval dockyard. He's been offered all jobs he applied for; he's made a very good impression. He had a vocational guidance interview but this was no help as they said he could do anything. Frank made up his mind some years ago as to his career. I was in the merchant navy in the UK.

Frank had a definite career ambition and had worked out the most appropriate way of attaining it.

John Sasturu (Group 6, Table 54)
IQ = 81 (low); did not aspire to the HSC in Grade 9 or Grade 10; school accreditation—left before School Certificate.

John and his parents were born in Yugoslavia and arrived in Australia when John was 11 years of age.

Mr Sasturu is a labourer, and Mrs Sasturu was not working at the time of the interview but had previously been working in a factory. John is the third of their 5 children. The two older ones are working as labourers. The parent interview was conducted in Yugoslavian.

In Grade 9 John wanted to leave school before the School Certificate. He hoped to become a mechanic or a carpenter.

John left school at the end of Grade 9. The reason he gave was 'because my parents wanted me to leave'. He was working as a labourer, and indicated that this was the main occupation he hoped to enter in the long run. When asked what his hopes for further education were in the next 2 years he answered, 'For next two years I'll remain labour'.

His father confirmed that he had decided that John should leave school. He said:

> We know he liked the school, but our economic conditions were such—he had to stay at home with the younger children. The wife was at work, I was at work; we bought the home, the payments are big; I cannot do it all with my wages. I know that he could do well at school. It is because of our economic problems that we had to take him out of the school.

Mr and Mrs Sastaru said that they thought John had been doing well at school because 'his reading and writing was always good' but they had never had contact with the school because, they said, 'they did not ask us to come'. In Yugoslavia they had been called to school meetings about twice a month.

They did not consider that English had caused John undue bother. They said:

Mo. When we came he did not know any English, but he grasped it very quickly. The older one did not learn as quickly, so he used to tell John, you are good at school, don't leave.

Fr (John) did not have any problems of his own, it was our problems that made him leave school.

Mr Sastaru saw no future for John but to become an unskilled worker like himself. He said, 'If you have little school, what else'. John had hoped to become a mechanic, but his father commented:

Fr Every father would like his son to become something, but if he goes to study for something it is expensive. They say it costs $60 to be an apprentice. Everyone asks only for money, give more money for this, give for that . . . where can one get so much?

Int. Where did you hear about paying the money?

Fr People talk and there is an electrician who comes to repair lights, he told us about it too.

Mr Sastaru asked:

Is there anything that could be done to help children financially, for instance with books? We don't know whether there is something that could be done, don't know where to ask. We listen to other people, they say you have to pay $60, others say $200. I did not want John to leave school, but we had problems, he had to . . .

When asked what he considered most important to young people for success in later life, Mr Sastura said:

School. We know that. Particularly for our children, that is the most important thing. Back home we know the situation, we could find our way about, but here without school you are nobody. Here they need school more than if they were at home in Yugoslavia. But the school was free there, here it costs money. Time comes when you cannot do anything about it. Back there we would know how to go about it, we were there from birth, we know the ways. Money and school is the most important. Without school a man grows like a tree, hard, knows nothing, suffers from all sides, cannot do anything for himself, gets cut down.

Filia Souris (Group 6, Table 54)

IQ = 93 (low); did not aspire to HSC in Grades 9 or 10; school accreditation – low SC.

Filia and her parents were born in Greece and came to Australia when she was 9 years old. She has an older brother. Mr Souris owns a take-away food shop in which both parents work. Mr Souris indicated that he worked 112 hours a week; his shop is open 16 hours a day, 7 days a week.

Filia wished to leave school after the SC and go to a technical college; her first choice of occupation was a typist or secretary.

In Grade 10 she said that her family and friends were all encouraging her to continue at school after the SC.

My parents want me to continue school but I said it will be more better [*sic*] if I live and learn a job in the technicall college.

When asked to write on any other people who had influenced her hopes about education and jobs, she wrote:

A man that sells incallopidians [*sic*]. He told me you [*sic*] life will be more better [*sic*] if you finish school.

Her parents, when asked what occupation their daughter would go into, said:

Fr We don't know she has not made up here mind yet . . . she says that she will finish this year.

Mo. We want her to continue.

Fr She said that she wants to go to college.

When the interviewer asked her parents what was most important to young people for success in later life Mr Souris replied:

Knowledge. I would like her to be a doctor, but if she cannot get a further education I would like her to learn a trade. With a trade she will earn better money easier and not have to work in a factory like us. The main thing is knowledge.

Filia left school after completing her SC to attend a secretarial course at technical college on a full-time basis, thus achieving her immediate ambition.

Consistency groups and equality of educational opportunity

Group 1 (Consistently high aspiration, gained HSC)

These higher IQ students followed the path described by the institutional ideology. From Tables 54A and 54B a rank order of highest to lowest proportional representation in Group 1 can be developed on the basis of parents' country of birth.[4]

ES/NES
Greek
Overseas-born ES
Australian
Yugoslav
Italian
Lebanese
Maltese

In comparison with the remainder of the sample, Group 1 students are characterised as having higher IQ and higher SES. A high proportion of Group 1 students aspired to complete the HSC and attend a university or CAE after school. They are hard working, motivated and interested in their school subjects; they have the support of high aspiring parents and encouraging teachers.

Group 2 (Inconsistently high aspiration, gained HSC)

These students challenged the institutional ideology by staying on at school in spite of lower IQ as measured by tests. A lower proportion of Group 2 parents were rating as higher SES than in Group 1. Almost two-thirds of the group are students of NES origin. A rank order of highest to lowest proportional representation in Group 2 is as follows:

Greek
Yugoslav
Italian
Lebanese
ES/NES
Overseas-born ES
Australian
Maltese

Group 2 achieved the lowest average IQ rating of all the groups (e.g. 92 compared with 119 for Group 1). However, in most other respects Group 2 students displayed similar characteristics to those described for Group 1.

Group 3 (Consistently high aspiration, no HSC)

These students aspired to follow the path for higher IQ students postulated by the institutional ideology but left before the HSC. The SES distribution approximated that in Group 2. The following rank order of highest to lowest proportional representation in Group 3 reveals that students with parents born in ES countries were over-represented.

Overseas-born ES
Australian
Yugoslav
ES/NES
Italian } [5]
Maltese }
Greek
Lebanese

4. Students with parents born in 'another NES country (both same)' and 'different NES countries' were excluded from the rank order lists in this section.
5. Bracket indicates tied rank.

Group 3 students achieved the second highest mean IQ rating of all groups. They appeared to receive the same degree of teacher encouragement to complete the HSC as Group 1 students (and more than Group 2 students) and were only marginally less hard working and interested in their schoolwork than those in Group 1.

Parental aspirations appear to be a major factor distinguishing Group 1 and Group 3 students, particularly for those from ES countries. It should be pointed out, however, that although the degree of parental support for HSC attendance falls short of that in Group 1, it is still quite substantial (e.g. 47 per cent of students with Australian-born parents and 68 per cent of those with NES origin said their mothers would be disappointed if they did not obtain the HSC).

Markedly lower proportions of the Group 3 Australian and ES origin parents aspired for their child to attend a university or CAE after school and a high proportion wanted their child to attend technical college. On the other hand, almost two-thirds of the Group 3 NES origin parents wanted their child to complete the HSC and attend a university or CAE.

To sum up, students in Group 3 failed to achieve their HSC aspiration and there seem to be no major IQ factors which explain this failure. Students with ES origin parents were over-represented in Group 3 and most of the parents of these students did not aspire for their child to attend a university or CAE, preferring technical college or no further education after school. However, many of the NES origin parents of Group 3 students hoped for university or CAE attendance. Some students may have reversed their aspirations to remain at school to the HSC after the survey and chosen technical college as an alternative educational path but, in the main, we can conclude that Group 3 students experienced some degree of inequality of educational opportunity.

Group 4 (Inconsistently high aspiration, no HSC)
These students attempted to challenge the institutional ideology by staying on at school in spite of lower IQ but failed to achieve their aspiration. A rank order of highest to lowest proportional representation in Group 4 is as follows:

Lebanese
Yugoslav
Greek
Italian
Maltese } ES/NES }
Australian
Overseas-born ES

Group 4 students achieved the second lowest mean IQ rating (90) and also had the second lowest proportion in the highest SES category. Seventy-five per cent of Yugoslav and 69 per cent of Lebanese students were aged 10 or over upon arrival in Australia. Yugoslav students, in particular, received parental and teacher encouragement and were hard working. Parents supported HSC attendance to about the same degree as those in Group 3.

Students in Group 4 (where NES students were over-represented) may also suffer a degree of inequality of opportunity. In particular, it appears that for the NES families, high aspirations and hard work on the part of the children have failed to compensate for the problems experienced when they are put to the test of achieving in English-based tests with insufficient specialised remedial help.

Group 5 (Inconsistently low aspiration, no HSC)
These students did not elect to follow the path for higher IQ students postulated by the institutional ideology. The SES distribution reflected a lower proportion of higher SES families compared with Group 1. The following rank order of highest to lowest proportional representation reveals that students with parents born in ES countries were over-represented:

Australian
ES/NES
Overseas-born ES
Maltese
Italian
Yugoslav
Lebanese
Greek

In comparison with Group 1 students, Group 5 students are less interested in their school studies, study less and watch more TV. Aspirations played a big part in the final outcome as most students saw technical college as an acceptable alternative educational pathway from that of HSC attendance and had parental support for this decision.

Group 6 (Consistently low aspiration, no HSC)
These students followed the path for lower IQ students postulated by the institutional ideology. Only 26 per cent of Group 6 families were classified as 'having higher SES'. The following rank order of highest to lowest proportional representation in Group 6 occurred:

Maltese
Lebanese
Italian
Australian, Overseas-born ES
Greek, Yugoslav
ES/NES

Fifty-six per cent of the Yugoslav students and 47 per cent of the Lebanese were aged 10 or over upon arrival in Australia. Only 50 per cent of Group 6 students said they were interested in most or all of their school subjects. In comparison with the rest of the sample the complementary influences of lower aspirations, less motivation to study, less teacher and parental support all contributed to the outcome of the Group 6 students leaving school.

Discussion

The institutional ideology appears to account for about half of the educational outcomes (Groups 1 and 6). The Maltese, Lebanese and Italian students achieved the lowest three positions in the rank order for Group 1 (i.e. those who achieved the HSC) but the highest three positions for Group 6 (i.e. those who left school). On the other hand, ES/NES and Greek students were within the highest three positions for Group 1 but the lowest three positions for Group 6.

In general, teachers' encouragement tends to reflect IQ ratings, i.e. to support the institutional ideology. However, there were Greek, Yugoslav and Italian origin students and their parents, in particular (Group 2), who rejected the notion that 'only bright children gain access to the HSC'. But another group of Lebanese, Yugoslav and Greek

origin students, in particular (Group 4), failed in their attempt to challenge the educational path for lower IQ students postulated by the institutional ideology and suffered a measure of inequality of educational opportunity in the process. A high proportion of students in this latter group were aged 10 or more upon arrival in Australia.

The higher IQ students in Groups 3 and 5 did not follow the HSC path postulated by the institutional ideology for higher IQ students. Australian and overseas-born ES origin students were within the top three positions on the rank order for each of these two groups. As Group 3 students had aspired to complete the HSC they appear to have experienced inequality of educational opportunity.

It is apparent that a number of the children from several of the ethnic subgroups (e.g. Greek, Yugoslav and Italian) tend to exhibit different 'mismatch' patterns from those of some children of ES origin (Australian and overseas-born ES). The NES origin parents play a key role in that they accept low school performance while constantly encouraging children to gain the HSC. Other ES origin parents ignore the HSC pathway dictated by high school performance and seek alternative pathways for their children's education.

CHAPTER 7

Summary and discussion

INTRODUCTION AND THEORETICAL ORIENTATIONS

This investigation focused on the educational experience of secondary school students. The study involved a longitudinal survey involving administration of objective tests, questionnaires and interviews to gather data from students, parents and teachers. Data were analysed to compare findings on the perceptions, aspirations, school performance and equality of educational opportunity of migrant students—those with both parents born in non-English-speaking (NES) countries—with students whose parents were born in English-speaking (ES) countries.

From 168 State high schools in the Sydney metropolitan area a stratified sample of 16 schools was selected. Stratification was based on: (a) school type (boys, girls and co-educational) and (b) migrant density—high and low. Schools were selected with a bias towards high density schools. The 3043 students in the sample represented approximately 11 per cent of all Grade 9 students in State schools in Sydney. Students who remained at school provided data during Grades 9 to 11. The Higher School Certificate (HSC) results were recorded for the 973 students (32 per cent of the Grade 9 cohort), who sat for the examination. Altogether, 1715 students left school before the end of Grade 11 and 63 per cent of these were followed up via mail questionnaire and telephone. During students' Grade 10 year, interviews were conducted with 690 parents. Finally, 637 teachers responded to a teachers' questionnaire.

Our theoretical approach was influenced by the equality of educational opportunity literature in the early 1970s and the mounting criticisms in Australia relating to the disadvantaged position of migrants of NES background.

Educational experience was placed within the theoretical framework of institutional ideology and migration experience. The institutional ideology identifies the education system as, above all, a reality—defining and confirming institution. In schools, the institutional ideology is linked with accreditation of students for tertiary study or jobs and is based on teacher definitions of student competence. The school system which accredits children utilises measures of 'brightness' which span an extremely limited range of cognitive abilities and excludes other cognitive and non-cognitive capacities that are highly valued in diverse contexts in society. In short, the secondary school fulfils varying functions for youth according to how bright it defines them to be. Thus, 'bright' children are given every opportunity to study and learn, are encouraged to have confidence in their ability and are motivated to aspire high and work hard. Concurrently, the school tries to ensure that 'less bright' children reach a minimum level of competence in literacy and numeracy and steers them away from unrealistic educational and occupational goals.

To the extent that students, teachers, and parents share or agree to 'go along with' these conceptions, the school careers of students will be highly predictable and consistent. But if this congruence does not exist, the connections between 'brightness', educational opportunity, aspirations or motivation will break down, i.e. the dominance of the institutional ideology will be challenged. We argued that one source which fosters such a challenge resides in ethnic differentiation where there is the perspective that the socialising role of the school is more important than its role as an accreditation agency i.e. migrant parents see the school as an agency that will swiftly and effectively teach their child the 'Australian way'. Research strategies were evolved to test whether our conceptions of the institutional ideology were reflected in the data.

A central focus in this inquiry is the position of migrant children with NES backgrounds. The migration experience was described in terms of both stunting and liberating theories. With the former, migration is seen as problem generating, resulting in personal loss of identity, disorganisation, social isolation and defensiveness, and cultural

deprivation. With the latter, migrants are seen to benefit from participation in a multicultural arena, exposure to a broad range of alternatives and opportunities to contribute fresh ideas that can facilitate innovative change in society.

Family interests and social experience

An intensive comparison was made of the family and social experiences of NES origin and non-NES origin children to test both the 'stunting' and 'liberating' theories of migration. Certainly, the climate of opinion that led to the sponsoring of this research study was dominated by the view that migration was a stunting, problem-generating experience. The results do not support this pessimistic appraisal of migration. There was evidence of NES family cohesion and solidarity, and unity of family purpose in relation to children's futures. Rather than being isolated from relatives and friends, the NES student group tended to enjoy the benefits of an extended family situation to the same or a greater extent than students with Australian-born parents. Children with parents born overseas in ES countries were more likely to experience the restrictions of a nuclear family.

In the school setting there was evidence of segregation of student subgroups in terms of friendship patterns based on two variables: IQ and ethnicity. No doubt the grouping of students into classes based on IQ influenced the first result. The prominence given to IQ by schools has clearly influenced social patterns within the school with possible implications for social patterns in the wider community. These latent effects of schooling processes should be evaluated by educators. From the author's perspectives, the 'advantages' of homogeneous grouping based on IQ are far outweighed by the 'disadvantages' of this arrangement. Ethnicity influenced friendship patterns when the influence of IQ was statistically controlled. The tendency for students to overchoose children from their own ethnic group when making friends is probably a reflection of much deeper divisions in the wider community including such aspects as location of family home and differences in cultural perspectives. There was little evidence to show that the school was in any way contributing to the breaking down of these barriers.

Within the NES origin family groups the language of family communication networks is an important intervening variable which influences the ability of migrants to participate in the dominant culture. The results revealed that a significant number of NES origin parents were unable to converse in English, for example almost half the interviews undertaken with these parents were conducted in a language other than English in spite of the fact that interviewers were asked to conduct the interview in English if at all possible. Our findings on family communication networks reflect those of other studies in this area: (a) parents tend to communicate with each other in their native tongue; (b) siblings tend to communicate with each other in English; (c) siblings and parents tend to communicate in a mixture of the two languages, i.e. children's ethnic linguistic experience is limited to conversation with their elders.

As many NES parents have not learned English, children are required to help their parents by translating official forms, letters and school notices and reports from English. These activities are more likely to occur in Greek, Lebanese and Yugoslav homes and less likely to occur in those of Italian and Maltese. Not only do NES children tend to be exposed to two languages reflecting two cultural perspectives but they experience the opportunity of using their translating skills to help their parents on what are frequently 'adult' matters.

The results illustrate that a high rate of retention of ethnic language has occurred in NES homes. It appears that the NES origin children benefit as the result of being at the interface of two cultures. They have been touched by the 'liberating' influences of this experience. As one Greek girl commented: 'I speak and write Greek fairly well . . . and I feel I have more of an advantage than all my Aussie friends put together!'. On the other hand, many migrant parents are isolated by their inability to

speak English. In particular, they have little direct communication and limited personal contact with schools.

The results on family communication networks which showed the high retention rate of ethnic language usage in NES migrant homes raise the issue of whether children from NES countries should be given the opportunity to learn their parents' language. The majority of NES origin students and more than half of students from ES backgrounds gave an affirmative response to a question directed towards this issue. Views expressed were that: (a) the ethnic language is a help in communication with parents, friends and relatives; (b) study of a language is helpful in learning about culture and appreciating ethnic origins; and (c) academic and social benefits accrue from learning more than one language. However, a number of ES origin children who favoured the teaching of ethnic languages wanted the use of such languages to be restricted to the home.

It was of interest to note that a small proportion of NES origin students expressed negative attitudes towards migrant children learning their parents' language. This result may indicate rejection of and alienation from their parents' culture. In several of the replies, for example, the students appeared to be resisting their parents' wishes concerning adherence to cultural values which the children consider inappropriate in Australia.

There are several explanations as to why a much larger number of ES origin students responded negatively to the proposal to teach ethnic languages. Some are no doubt reflecting a hardline assimilationist perspective and hope all migrants will learn English and quickly discard their ethnic language. Another possible explanation is that the students are merely reflecting anti-migrant feelings which exist in some segments of the community. Certainly, the study has identified small pockets of students with highly aggressive anti-migrant attitudes and prejudices.

In relation to the migration experience, both stunting and liberating perspectives are indicated by our data. Many ES origin children and their families, when faced with cultural perspectives different from those they have 'taken for granted', have simply intuitively rejected them as wrong and learnt nothing from the experience. A smaller 'hardline' group of ES children want to remove the cause of the unease resulting from the threat to their definitions of reality by sending the migrants 'back to where they came from'. Migrants are seen by these students as intruders.

On the other hand, many NES origin parents have preferred to remain in ethnic communities and have failed to make any effort to learn English. They too have attempted to 'cling to old ways' and appear to have gained little from the potentially invigorating experiences of interacting with members of a different culture. It is difficult to identify a single major causal factor. Some migrant children claim that their parents are being 'pushed back into their own culture' or are being 'crushed and degraded by the "fair dinkum Aussies" '. Children with Australian-born parents have argued that migrant parents have not attempted to 'mix in' or 'to learn English'.

These data may only be the tip of an iceberg in a sea of prejudice, intolerance, inflexibility, narrow-mindedness and refusal to examine 'taken-for-granted assumptions' which exist in the minds of many parents, of both Australian and NES origin. One can only be saddened by the lost opportunities for personal enrichment and cultural development. But NES origin children are one group where the liberating influences, stimulations and fresh visions of migration appear to have taken root and flourished like flowers in the desert.

Students' perceptions of schooling

Students' perceptions of schooling were analysed in Report No. 2 (Meade, 1981). An assessment of student attitudes to teachers revealed that most held positive views about the majority of teachers and negative views about a much smaller group of teachers. On the positive side many teachers were perceived by students as doing an outstanding job. These teachers were described by the use of such adjectives as: understanding, helpful,

friendly, genuine, reliable and trustworthy. Other qualities mentioned in relation to teachers were: trusting, fair, well liked, intelligent, interesting, informative, conscientious, effective, experienced and encouraging. However, students had a lot to say about negative aspects of some teachers. Students were opposed to teachers who are: over-authoritarian, aloof, unfriendly, inconsiderate, discriminative, prejudiced, conceited and unkind, and who show a lack of respect for students. Students also want teachers to be able to control classes. Several comments indicate that students were not very tolerant towards migrant teachers, particularly if they have an accent. Proportionally more students with NES origin parents made positive statements about teachers and fewer made negative statements than non-NES origin students but overall variations are small.

Students were asked about their degree of interest in Grade 10 school subjects and it was revealed that levels of interest varied markedly among the various subjects. More than 70 per cent of students were interested in all or most of the work in: industrial arts, geography, science, art, home economics, English and history. Between 50 per cent and 70 per cent were interested in: needlework, mathematics, Asian social studies, language and commerce with less than 30 per cent interested in music and social studies. Our findings revealed that girls displayed more interest than boys in the humanities subjects while the reverse result applied for mathematics and science subjects. In general, NES origin students displayed the same level or a higher level of interest in school subjects compared with the non-NES origin groups.

A high proportion of students stated that they needed more information about the jobs and courses open to them. The proportion was higher for the NES subgroup. Students rated 'parents', 'workers in desired jobs' and 'friends' as being very helpful sources of information about jobs or educational courses but only one-fifth rated 'teachers' and one-tenth rated 'high school careers advisors' as being very helpful. A lower proportion of NES students rated their parents as being very helpful in comparison with the non-NES groups. When parents in the interview sample were asked what concrete steps they had taken to obtain information concerning occupations suitable for their child, it was revealed that almost half of the NES origin parents had taken no concrete steps, which was a markedly higher proportion than for other parent groups.

Our finding in relation to 'reasons for leaving school' indicated that approximately 40 per cent left school mainly because of 'push' factors (e.g. dissatisfaction with teachers and schools), 30 per cent left mainly because of 'pull' factors (e.g. to obtain work or training for work) while 30 per cent left for a combination of reasons. There were no major variations between the NES and non-NES student groups in the proportional response of reasons for leaving school but when students were asked if they would have liked to stay longer at school a high proportion of the NES group responded in the affirmative.

To sum up, our analyses of students' perceptions of schooling have revealed that in comparison with non-NES student groups the NES origin students tend to hold more favourable attitudes and be more interested in their school subjects, although the margins are small. However, a higher proportion of the NES groups were in need of improved information about jobs and courses, and home interviews revealed that almost half of the NES parents had not helped their child to gain this information. It appears that numbers of NES origin migrant families in our investigation were cut off from contemporary sources of information about occupations. The 'stunting' effects of migration were exacerbated by English language difficulties.

Parents' perceptions of schooling

Students' perceptions of schooling were no doubt influenced by those of parents which were also analysed in Report No. 2 (Meade, 1981). Most parents in our survey believed that education is important for success in later life and were vitally concerned about

their own child's success or otherwise at school. Comparatively, migrant parents of NES origin attached even greater importance to their child's schooling than parents from ES backgrounds. However, most parents in our survey were quite remote from the school and teachers. They exerted very little influence on the whole process of schooling and did not see involvement in education as their role. However, a number of NES origin migrant parents made comments which indicated some aspect of the culture and values of the school was of concern to them.

Parents currently have very little contact with teachers, and over half the parents interviewed said that they did not really know teachers well enough to comment fully or even comment at all about them. The vast majority of parents interviewed did not attend the P and C meetings. In the few instances that parents and teachers did interact, the meetings were arranged to discuss either the child's school work or future, or to discuss the child's conduct, e.g. truancy. A number of NES parents raised the 'language barrier' as a major reason for their non-involvement. In comparison with ES origin parents, a greater proportion of parents with NES backgrounds expressed reservations that teachers were not strict enough.

Parents in our survey gave several reasons why they did not wish to be involved in secondary education. Some felt that they did not have either the time or the opportunity to become involved because of other demands on them, including family and job responsibilities. Others believed that they did not have the necessary abilities to make a worthwhile contribution. In general, parents did not think that they were capable of making a contribution and thought that education was 'best left to teachers'.

Thus, in the main, partially as a result of historical influences, parents accept their roles as non-partners and non-participants in schools and prefer to 'keep out'. However, they are most interested in improving communication with their child's teachers in order to learn more about their child's progress and to share with teachers their insights and understanding of their own child in order to maximise their child's education opportunities.

Educational and occupational aspirations

This study attempts to trace the connections between brightness, educational opportunity, aspirations and accreditation. The notion of the institutional ideology sees significant others, in particular 'teachers', as encouraging bright children to aspire high and work hard while providing less support and encouragement for the less bright child. Ethnic differentiation is one perspective which challenges or rejects the nexus which the ideology asserts between brightness and accreditation. Several Australian studies, including the present one, have shown that migrant parents and students from migrant families have high educational aspirations. One explanation of these findings sees the migrant parent as someone with an unskilled job and low status exacerbated by a lack of education and mastery of English. Often the only chance of success for such a migrant is to experience it vicariously through the achievement of his or her own child. An alternative explanation sees the migrant parent as a 'marginal man'—alienated from both his native and adopted cultures. This explanation sees great ambition and energy as being a result of this marginality. In this study we suggested that for the migrant parent, the school is, above all, a socialising rather than an accrediting agency—the job of the school is to turn migrant children into Australians.

The rank order of proportions (from highest to lowest) of students aspiring to complete the HSC and to attend university or a college of advanced education together with parents' aspirations for their child's education (similarly classified) are as follows:

Proportion aspiring to HSC	
Students	*Parents*
Greek	Greek
Yugoslav	ES/NES
ES/NES	Lebanese
Lebanese	Italian
Overseas ES	Yugoslav
Italian	Overseas ES
Australian	Australian
Maltese	Maltese

Proportion aspiring to univ. or CAE	
Students	*Parents*
Greek, Yugoslav	Greek
ES/NES	ES/NES
Lebanese	Yugoslav
Italian	Lebanese
Overseas ES	Overseas ES
Australian	Italian
Maltese	Australian
	Maltese

Wide variations occurred in the proportions aspiring for further education among the groups, e.g. 80 per cent of the Greek children aspired to complete the HSC compared with only 27 per cent of the Maltese. IQ was shown to have a powerful influence on aspirations while SES also had an independent effect, but when the effects of these two variables were statistically controlled, in general students of NES migrant origin were shown to have a decided advantage if higher educational aspirations are valued. The percentage of parents and children where coincidence of aspirations occurred was higher for the NES group as a whole. The variations between the NES groups and the non-NES groups were most marked in the lower IQ lower SES categories. For the NES groups parental aspirations are much less dependent on SES or the child's IQ. Case study analysis supported the notion that many NES origin parents wanted their children to achieve a higher status in life and a better occupation with more favourable conditions than their own, e.g. 'Neither of them want me to work at a factory ... they ... work for us in the hope that we ... will become educated, and be respected ... and not become ... uneducated as they are'. 'My parents influence me greatly because they compare themselves with the ones who have good jobs ... '

The influence of teachers and peers on aspirations were also investigated and rank order proportions of students are listed below:

Students' perceptions of teacher encouragement to remain at school to the HSC	*Percentage of students who indicated that their friends had a 'high' concern for education*
Yugoslav	Greek
Greek	Italian
Australian, Overseas ES	Yugoslav
ES/NES	Lebanese
Maltese	Overseas ES
Italian	Australian
Lebanese	ES/NES
	Maltese

Most students did not perceive teacher encouragement to the HSC and the proportions listed above range from 43 per cent for Yugoslav students to 18 per cent for Lebanese. In general our data supported the proposition that teachers tend to encourage higher IQ students while they hold more modest hopes for lower IQ students. However, teacher encouragement was not dependent on SES. It is important to note that a higher proportion of Yugoslav and Greek students perceived teacher encouragement compared with the Australian students in spite of their lower IQ as measured by English language tests. The Lebanese students were one group who did not perceive teacher encouragement and it is recalled that a high proportion of Lebanese students were recent arrivals to Australia.

The sociometric data (discussed previously) were utilised to determine if students choose friends with similar educational aspirations to themselves and the analyses revealed a definite tendency for this to occur.

The analysis of friends' attitudes (listed above) portray NES origin students' groups, in the main, as more likely to have friends who hold favourable attitudes towards education. It appears that these factors operate cumulatively—friends are likely to be of similar IQ, NES origin children tend to have relatively high education aspirations, the NES origin migrant child is more likely to have friends who value education and in many cases these friends are themselves of NES origin. On the other hand, the lower IQ child with Australian-born parents is more likely to have friends who tend not to value education and who have aspirations to leave school.

Aspirations are also correlated with other factors such as 'time spent on homework' and 'time spent watching TV' and rank order proportions of students for these variables are as follows:

Mean hours of home study in Grade 10	*Mean hours of TV watched in Grade 10*
Greek	Lebanese }
Lebanese	Maltese }
Italian	Overseas ES
Yugoslav	Australian
Maltese	ES/NES
ES/NES	Yugoslav
Australian }	Greek
Overseas ES }	Italian

IQ and SES were two further variables which influenced hours of home study and TV watched. Higher IQ and higher SES groups studied more and watched less TV but when the influences of these variables were controlled several NES origin groups were found to study longer hours and watch less TV than students with Australian-born parents.

Grade 9 students were asked to state their occupational aspirations and the rank order occupational aspiration status proportions for their first preference are recorded below:

Rank order of proportions of students classified by occupational aspiration status

Upper professionals	*Lower professionals, managerial, shop proprietors*	*Clerical workers, armed services, police, craftsmen*	*Shop assistants, operators, drivers, service workers, labourers*
Lebanese	ES/NES	Maltese	ES/NES
ES/NES	Overseas ES	Italian	Lebanese
Yugoslav }	Australian }	Greek	Maltese
Greek }	Yugoslav }	Australian	Overseas ES
Overseas ES	Italian	Yugoslav	Australian
Australian	Greek	Overseas ES	Greek
Italian	Lebanese	Lebanese	Yugoslav
Maltese	Maltese	ES/NES	Italian

Marginally higher proportions of Lebanese, ES/NES, Yugoslav and Greek ethnic subgroups aspired to occupations classified as 'upper professional' compared with overseas ES origin and Australian origin groups. It is interesting to note that the Lebanese had high proportions aspiring to be in the highest status and the lowest status job

categories. These results highlight the heterogeneous nature of the Lebanese group in terms of occupational aspiration status. Most children changed their actual occupation aspired to during the course of the study but the occupational aspiration status relative patterns remained much the same. In general, these patterns correlated with those for educational aspirations.

Our aspiration analyses have clearly demonstrated that students in several of the NES origin ethnic groups (in particular, Greek, Yugoslav and Lebanese students) held high educational and occupational aspirations. However, Lebanese students did not perceive teacher encouragement to stay at school to the same extent as Greek and Yugoslav groups. The Lebanese group is also characterised by having a high proportion of recent arrivals and by the fact that the group exhibited a most heterogeneous (bimodal) distribution on the occupational aspiration status variable. Italian students appear to be most like the group of students with Australian-born parents perhaps reflecting a greater degree of assimilation compared, for example, with other groups which have only low proportions of recent arrivals, such as the Greeks. The Maltese consistently displayed lower aspirations and less motivation in comparison with other groups.

Accreditation and school performance

In this investigation, accreditation and school performance results were taken at face value, as it were, because they represent powerful definitions of reality in our educational and occupational systems. The proportion of students who remained at school to the HSC gives one measure of school accreditation. The rank orders of proportions of students who remained to the HSC by IQ and SES are as follows:

Proportion remained to the HSC

Higher IQ, higher SES	*Higher IQ, lower SES*	*Lower IQ, higher SES*	*Lower IQ, lower SES*
Italian }	Greek	Lebanese	Greek
Lebanese }	Yugoslav	Greek	Yugoslav
Greek	Italian	ES/NES	Italian
ES/NES	ES/NES	Yugoslav	ES/NES
Overseas ES	Lebanese	Italian	Lebanese
Australian	Overseas ES	Overseas ES	Overseas ES
Yugoslav	Australian	Australian	Australian
Maltese	Maltese	Maltese	Maltese

'Ethclass' rank order proportions are shown below:

Proportion remained to HSC

Higher SES	*Lower SES*
Lebanese	Greek
Italian	Yugoslav
Greek }	ES/NES
ES/NES }	Italian
Overseas ES	Overseas ES
Australian	Australian
Yugoslav	Lebanese
Maltese	Maltese

With the exception of the Maltese, it can be concluded that a higher proportion of NES origin groups remained to the HSC in comparison with the group of students with Australian-born parents. Within the NES groups (for example, Lebanese and

Yugoslav), lower proportions of recently arrived migrant children remained to the HSC. There was some concentration of the Italian, Lebanese and Maltese students in the poorly accredited groups, that is in the groups which left school before the School Certificate (SC) or gained only a low SC result.

Students in the NES origin group achieved lower average qualitative and quantitative IQ scores (ML and MQ) than children with Australian-born parents but a narrowing in the average performance differences occurred when the non-language-based, standard progressive matrices scores were compared. Students in NES groups achieved marginally lower scores in SC tests than the Australian origin group but these results need to be interpreted in the light of the fact that newly arrived NES origin students were placed in one of the lower SC streams. Those NES students who remained to Grade 12 achieved lower HSC scores than children with Australian-born parents but these results also need to be interpreted in the context of a higher proportion of NES students staying on at school.

An analysis of the work and study destinations of school leavers (Grades 9, 10 and 11) revealed marked differences in the destination patterns of boys and girls. A higher proportion of boys than girls entered full-time work whereas girls were more likely to engage in further full-time study (mainly secretarial). A higher proportion of boys with Australian origins entered full-time work compared with the NES origin boys. Approximately one-tenth of the NES boys were not engaged either in work or study at the time of the leaver's questionnaire (i.e. within the six-month period immediately after they left school). Although a lower proportion of the NES origin girls had entered full-time work in comparison with the Australian origin girls, a considerably higher proportion of the NES group were engaged in full-time study (mainly secretarial).

Characteristics of groups of students with different accreditation levels

A traditional concern in sociology has been to secure a more or less perfect relationship between measured ability, educational opportunity and performance. Aspirations and motivation are intervening variables in this context. The longitudinal design of the study enabled the sequence—IQ, aspiration and accreditation level achieved—to be followed for each student. Data on individual students were organised by developing a series of six 'consistency groups':

Group 1—Aspired to and gained HSC; aspiration consistent with IQ (high or medium IQ, range 100–135)

Group 2—Aspired to and gained HSC; aspiration not consistent with IQ (low IQ, range 99 or less)

Group 3—Aspired to HSC, did not gain it; aspiration consistent with IQ (high or medium IQ)

Group 4—Aspired to HSC, did not gain it; aspiration not consistent with IQ (low IQ)

Group 5—Did not aspire to or gain HSC; aspiration not consistent with IQ (high or medium IQ)

Group 6—Did not aspire to or gain HSC; aspiration consistent with IQ (low IQ)

The consistency groups can be utilised in two related ways: first, to test whether the institutional ideology appropriately describes the school experience and, second, to investigate 'equality of educational opportunity'. If the school is defined as promoting the ideal of equality of educational opportunity when it assists students ' . . . to achieve the best they are capable of' (see Meade 1981: 15–16 for a full discussion), the consistency groups can be utilised as a rough guide to testing if such equality has been achieved.

The following points address the question of institutional ideology: (a) students in Groups 1 and 6 fit the behavioural pattern outlined by the institutional ideology—the

'bright' aspire high while the 'less bright' leave school; and (b) in Groups 2 to 5 a 'mismatch' has occurred in the IQ, aspiration/accreditation chain.

The rank order of highest to lowest proportional representation in each 'consistency group' on the basis of parents' country of birth is as follows:

Group 1	*Group 2*	*Group 3*	*Group 4*	*Group 5*	*Group 6*
ES/NES	Greek	O/s-born ES	Lebanese	Australian	Maltese
Greek	Yugoslav	Australian	Yugoslav	ES/NES	Lebanese
O/s-born ES	Italian	Yugoslav	Greek	O/s-born ES	Italian
Australian	Lebanese	ES/NES	Italian	Maltese	Australian }
Yugoslav	ES/NES	Italian }	Maltese }	Italian	O/s-born ES }
Italian	O/s-born ES	Maltese }	ES/NES }	Yugoslav	Greek }
Lebanese	Australian	Greek	Australian	Lebanese	Yugoslav }
Maltese	Maltese	Lebanese	O/s-born ES	Greek	ES/NES

Group 1 students followed the path for higher IQ students postulated by the institutional ideology and tended to come from higher SES families. They are hard working, motivated and interested in their schoolwork; they have the support of high aspiring parents and encouraging teachers. A high proportion aspire to attend a university or CAE after school.

Group 2 challenged the institutional ideology by staying on at school in spite of low IQ (average 92) as measured by tests. A low proportion were rated as higher SES and almost two-thirds were of NES origin. In most other respects, Group 2 students displayed similar characteristics to those described in Group 1.

Group 3 aspired to follow the path for higher IQ students postulated by the institutional ideology but left before the HSC. They tend to be of lower SES origin and appeared to receive the same degree of teacher encouragement and were only marginally less hard working and interested in their schoolwork than those in Group 1. Parental aspirations appear to be a major factor distinguishing Group 1 and Group 3 students. However, parental support is still quite substantial. Markedly low proportions of the Group 3 Australian and ES origin parents aspired for their child to attend a university or CAE after school and a high proportion wanted their child to attend technical college—the reverse proportions occurred for NES parents. To sum up, apart from some students who may have reversed their HSC aspirations after the survey, it appears that Group 3 students experienced some degree of inequality of educational opportunity.

Group 4 students challenged the institutional ideology by wanting to stay on at school in spite of lower IQ but failed to achieve their aspiration. They tend to be of lower SES. Seventy-five per cent of Yugoslav and 69 per cent of Lebanese students were aged 10 or over upon arrival in Australia. Parental support was as high as in Group 3 and Yugoslav students, in particular, were hard working. Group 4 students experienced a degree of inequality of educational opportunity. It appears that, for the NES families, high aspirations and hard work on the part of the children have failed to compensate for the problems experienced when they are put to the test of achieving in English-based tests with insufficient remedial help.

Group 5 students did not elect to follow the path for higher IQ students postulated by the institutional ideology. The SES distribution was lower than Group 1. In comparison with Group 1, Group 5 students were less interested in their school subjects, studied less and watched more TV. Aspirations played a big part in the final outcome as most students saw technical college as an acceptable alternative educational pathway to the HSC and had parental support for this decision.

Group 6 followed the path for lower IQ students. Only one-quarter were classified as 'having higher SES'. Only half said they were interested in their school subjects. Half of the Yugoslav and Lebanese students were aged 10 or over upon arrival in Australia. In

comparison with the rest of the sample the complementary influences of lower aspirations, less motivation to study, and less teacher and parental support all contributed to the outcome of leaving school.

Discussion and recommendations

The institutional ideology, then, accounts for about half of the educational outcomes (Groups 1 and 6). The Maltese, Lebanese and Italian students achieved the lowest three positions in the rank order for Group 1 (i.e. those who achieved the HSC) but the highest three positions for Group 6 (i.e. those who left school). On the other hand, ES/NES and Greek students were within the highest three positions for Group 1 but the lowest three positions for Group 6.

In general, teachers' encouragement tends to reflect IQ ratings, i.e. to support the institutional ideology. However, there were Greek, Yugoslav and Italian origin students and their parents, in particular Group 2, who rejected the notion that 'only bright children gain access to the HSC'. But another group of Lebanese, Yugoslav and Greek origin students, in particular Group 4, failed in their attempt to challenge the educational path for lower IQ students postulated by the institutional ideology and suffered a measure of inequality of educational opportunity in the process. A high proportion of students in this latter group were aged 10 or more upon arrival in Australia.

The higher IQ students in Groups 3 and 5 did not follow the HSC path postulated by the institutional ideology for higher IQ students. Australian and overseas-born ES origin students were within the top three positions in the rank order for each of these two groups. As Group 3 students had aspired to complete the HSC they appear to have experienced inequality of educational opportunity.

It is apparent that a number of children from several of the ethnic subgroups (e.g. Greek, Yugoslav and Italian) tend to exhibit different 'mismatch' patterns from those of some children of ES origin (Australian and overseas-born ES). The NES origin parents play a key role in that they accept low school performance while constantly encouraging children to gain the HSC. Other ES origin parents ignore the HSC pathway dictated by high school performance and seek alternative pathways for their children's education, for example technical college.

One explanation of this result sees the NES origin migrant parents as most determined that their children will succeed in Australia. They want their child to achieve a good job (better than their own). Migrant children from such families can rely on constant parental reinforcement and support. They can also draw on the benefits of being part of an extended family network.

Another explanation unearths a paradox. It is possible that some migrant children display greater determination and maturity because they have survived and mastered the problem-generating effects of the 'stunting aspects of migration'. For example, the results show that many migrant parents who are not proficient in English rely on their children to help out by translating and interpreting. A second illustration derives from the results which show that migrant parents (particularly those who do not speak English) tend to have little contact with school and virtually no knowledge of the schooling process. They may not, in fact, be 'rejecting' the institutional ideology as suggested above but may merely be unaware of their child's school progress. As early poor results on the part of the child do not register with the parents, they continue to support and encourage the child to engage in further studies. On the other hand, many Australian parents appear to be particularly sensitive if their child does not do well at school and fine-tune their aspirations accordingly. If this latter explanation is correct, improved school–parent communication may weaken the resolve of NES parents and encourage them to line up with the notions of the institutional ideology from which they are currently insulated.

Overall, approximately two-thirds of students left school before the HSC. The consistency analyses reveal that it is a gross oversimplification to conclude that all students

who leave school have failed at school and reached the end of their formal studies. Well over half the school leavers had gained high or medium IQ scores. One-fifth of students who left school entered a further full-time education course. However, our results reveal that approximately one-third of the Australian students and two-thirds of the NES students classified in Groups 3 and 4 were unable to achieve their aspiration to complete the HSC in spite of parental support.

The inquiry points to the need for improved resources in six broad areas:

First, it is necessary to break the dominance of the institutional ideology and encourage the education system to serve the needs of all children and, in particular, those of lower IQ, and lower SES, whom it now does its best to throw off. Teachers need to encourage children in the light of their real potential to learn (and not tune encouragement to culturally biased IQ measures which penalise lower SES children and those with NES migrant origins).

Second, resources and research are needed to enable the education system to respond to the needs of student populations displaying characteristics of the six 'consistency' groups in terms of school philosophies, curriculum and school-to-work programs. The consistency group analyses bring into sharp focus the fact that significant portions of school populations are not destined for further higher education, and school programs need to reflect these trends. School-based research is needed to identify the 'consistency group' composition of each school. Individual school programs need to reflect the composition of their particular school population.

Third, resources and research are needed to develop a much greater community awareness of the advantages that can accrue from living in an ethnically plural society. Our study has highlighted the benefits that can occur when children are exposed to the socialising influences of 'two cultures'. Findings indicate that the concept of 'migrant children as problems' widely misses the mark and is unlikely to contribute to a deeper understanding of the complex issues involved in analysing the educational experience of NES origin children. On the other hand, our data have brought into stark focus the existence of divisiveness and intolerance among families of ES and NES origins.

An opportunity exists for schools to provide community leadership by demonstrating the benefits that can result from authentic family interaction and sharing which surmount ethnic barriers. As a first step, schools need to draw on the resources of ethnic communities much more than at present when developing and presenting their programs.

Fourth, resources are required for monitoring and research to provide extra assistance (in terms of counselling and teaching) for students who are unable to achieve their aspirations to complete the HSC. In responding to these student needs, recognition should be given to the fact that a large proportion of these students are recently arrived migrant children from NES countries.

An urgent need for children to obtain a greater amount of educational and occupational information is the focus of our fifth summary finding. Most children in the study wanted more advice and personal involvement with 'real' life outside the school. NES origin children were, in particular, in need of help as many parents took no concrete steps to assist their child to obtain the relevant information, possibly because of language difficulties and lack of contacts with the broader community. Schools need to take steps to markedly improve counselling and careers advice services appropriate to the needs of students and their parents.

The sixth aspect follows from the findings which reveal that IQ is only one, albeit the main determinant of the outcome of students' educational experiences. Student aspirations, coupled with parental wishes and encouragement, played a big part in the final result. Secondary educators should recognise these points and involve parents more when advising and educating students. Parents judge, probably correctly, that they can make little contribution to the narrow academic goals espoused by schools and hence have little desire to be involved. Consequently, educators will have to make an extra

effort to identify fruitful areas where parents (particularly those of NES migrant origin) could become involved in school affairs. Moreover, it appears that students are ready to play a much bigger part in school decision making, including the selection of school curriculum electives, than they do at present. There is an urgent need for educators to open up lines of communication with all students but particularly with those with NES origin parents.

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